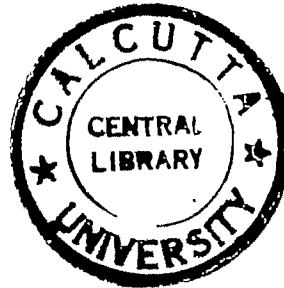


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S U L T A N R A Z I Y Y A H A N D H E R P R E D E C E S S O R S

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF THE DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (ARTS)
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SCANNED



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S U L T A N R A Z I Y Y A H A N D H E R P R E D E C E S S O R S

"A man who knows the record of the past
Seems to be always lived, since Time began,
His life will last as long as time will last,
For he preserved the noble deeds of Man.
The good and kind and men of knowledge vast
For ever live, gain thus life's longest span".

(As-Sahawi).

"History is one of the best and most desirable branch
of learning, one of the most useful and splendid ob-
jects of study, and one of the most perfect and brill-
iant topics of conversation. It is a way to instruc-
tion and a path leading to insight. It is a precious
gift that makes one actually see the nations of the
past. It is a relaxation which cheers the heart of the
readers and loosens his tongue".

(Alam-ad-din Abu Mohd. Al-Qasim b. Mohd. Al-Birzali).

"By acquiring knowledge a man becomes noble".

(Sheikh Nizam-ud-din Aulia).

P R E F A C E

THE present work begins with qutb-ud-din Aibak and concludes with Raziyyah. During these years there are to be found some interesting and uncommon events which have attracted the attention of the historians and provided materials for intellectual excitement of the inquisitive minds: the life-giving inrush of the Muslims, the flowering of Turk's genius and the crowning of a female sovereign.

This volume has been written with special reference to Sultan Raziyyah Begum who has upto now remained a forgotten queen, but her biography has to be written anew in the light of modern researches.

Why fearing the tyranny of Time
Should I accuse her of a crime,
That was really a cloak to disguise
Her queer notions best and sublime.

For the completion of this thesis I must acknowledge the encouragement I received from my supervisor, Dr. Atul Chandra Ray, who with great patience has gone through every page and proposed improvements. I am deeply grateful to him for his valuable counsel and useful suggestions. It was his expert advice that greatly eased what at the beginning appeared a very difficult task.

C O N T E N T S.

PREFACE.....	iv
ILLUSTRATION....."Sultana Rezia"	vii
ABBREVIATIONS.....	ix, x
INTRODUCTION.....	xi-xlviii
CHAPTER	
1. The Dawn of a New Era : (Sultan qutb-ud-din Aibak)	1-72
2. Interregnum.	73-94
3. Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish	95-147
4. Sultan Raziyyah Begum's Early Life,) And Her Accession To The Throne. }	148-180
5. Raziyyah's Early Difficulties,) And Her Struggle With Nobility).	181-192
6. From Chaos To Cosmos.	193-223
7. Interlude.	224-249
8. The Martyrdom Of Sultan Raziyyah.	250-270
EPILOGUE.	271-319
APPENDIX.	
A. Controversy over the name of Sultan) Shams-ud-din Iltutmish. }	320-325
B. The Khokars.	326- 331
C. Queen Bilqis Jehan (Queen Of Sheba).	332- 334
D. "Sultana Rezia".	335.
BIBLIOGRAPHY.	336- 353.

MAPS .

	Page
1. Saltanat of Hindustan Under Qutub-ud-din Aibak, (1206-1210 A.D.)	* 42
2. India Under Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish. (1211 - 1236 A.D.)	* 120 /

সুলতানা রাজিয়া

"SULTANA REZIA."



শিল্পী,
আবদুল মুইন!
Artist, Abdul Muin.

و فتخار است که در هند تو رزینہ سلطان
صاحب سلطنت و تاج و سریر آمدنی
چه جمالست و جلاست و کمالست ترا
نفر شاهان جہاں دخت یکہ شاہ کبیر آمدنی
عطا کریم برق

(Ala Karim Bury,
Head of the Department of
Arabic and Persian,
Calcutta University.)

THE EARLY TURKISH SULTANS OF INDIA
(1206-1290 A.D.)

1. SULTAN QUTB-UD-DIN AIBAK.....(1206-1210 A.D.)
2. SULTAN ARAM SHAH.....(~~1210~~ 1211 A.D.)
3. SULTAN SHAMS-UD-DIN ILTUTMISH.....(1211-1236 A.D.)
4. SULTAN RUKN-UD-DIN FEROZE SHAH.....(April-November)
1236 A.D.
5. SULTAN RAZIYYAH BEGUM.....(1236-1240 A.D.)
6. SULTAN MUIZ-UD-DIN BAHRAM SHAH.....(1240-1242 A.D.)
7. SULTAN ALA-UD-DIN MASUD SHAH.....(1242-1246 A.D.)
8. SULTAN NASIR-UD-DIN MAHMUD SHAH.....(1246-1266 A.D.)
9. SULTAN GHIYAS-UD-DIN BALBAN.....(1266-1287 A.D.)
10. SULTAN MUIZ-UD-DIN KAIQUBAD.....(1287-1290 A.D.)

A. B. B R E V I A T I O N S

Adab	...	Adab-i- Harb-was-Shujaat
AJMR	...	The Administration of Justice During the Muslim Rule in India.
Ain.	...	Ain-i-Akbari.
AMRD	...	Archaology and Monumental Remains of Delhi.
Asar.	...	Asar-us- Sanadid.
BSEI	...	Brief Survey of the Evolution of Ismialism.
CHI	...	Cambridge History of India
CCIM	...	The Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum
Chronicles	...	The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi.
CWSI	...	The Conquerors, Warriors and Statesme of India.
DR	...	Dewal Rani and Khizr Khan
DHN	...	The Dynastic History of Northern India.
E.D.	...	Elliot and Dowson's History of India as told by its own Historians.
EI	...	Epigraphia Indica
EIM	...	Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica
FS	...	Futus-us-Salatin
FF	...	Fawaid-ul Fuwad
FMRI	...	Foundation of Muslim Rule in India
Ganj.	...	Ganj-i-Tarikh
HMI	...	History of Mediaval India
HB	...	History of Bengal
HCIP	...	History and Culture of Indian People
IA	...	Indian Antiquary
IC	...	Islamic Culture
IGI	...	Imperial Gazetteer of India
IHQ	...	Indian Historical quarterly
JASB.	...	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JRASB	...	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal
Kh.T	...	Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh
Lub-T	...	Lub-ut-Tawarikh
LHP	...	A Literary History of Persia
MR	...	Maasir-i-Rahimi
MT	...	Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh
Masalik	...	Masalik-al-Absar-fi-Masalik-al-Amsar
R.Tr.	...	Raverty's translation of Tbaqat-i-Nasir
RG	...	Ruins of Gaur
RP	...	Religion and Politics During the 13th Century in India,
RS	...	Riaz-us-Salatin
Report	...	Archaological Survey Report
BDCM	..	Sultans of Delhi :Their Coinage and Metrology

Taj	...	Taj-ul-Maasir
TFM	...	Tarikh-i-Fakhr-ud-din Mubarak Shah
TF	...	Tarikh-i-Ferishta
TM	...	Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi
TJ	...	Tarikh-i-Jahan Kusha
TN	...	Tabaqat-i-Nasiri
Tarikh(A)	...	Afif's Tarikh-i-Feroze Shahi
Tarikh(B)	...	Barani's Tarikh-i-Feroze Shahi
Tarikh(M)	...	Tarikh-i-Masumi

I N T R O D U C T I O N

A rare event took place in the third decade of the 13th century in India. It was the appearance of a young Muslim Lady - SULTAN RAZIYYAH BEGUM - on the throne of Delhi. Very little is known about this female sovereign whom history at last records as the **FIRST AND LAST QUEEN OF INDIA**. Contemporary sources do not throw much light on her career as a Princess and as a Queen and the posterity, too, do not seem to be in a mood to regard it as a significant achievement to bring her out of oblivion, though her short reign is full of activities indicating some significant developments and striking a note of modernity. At present when Mrs. Indra Gandhi is the Prime Minister of the independent Republic of India, the life and achievements of Sultan Raziyyah acquire new interest and significance. Mrs. Indra Gandhi is the first Indian woman to acquire such a high position. It is after a hiatus of seven hundred and thirty years that the people's verdict went for a second time in favour of a woman elevating her as the head of the Government of India.

India, as it existed prior to Sultan Raziyyah's accession and India as it exists to-day, is a wonderful country, which has witnessed both the dark days of slavery and the golden period of freedom and great fortunes. Its history is

essentially a long story that depicts its constant struggle for survival and a decent living with honour. It was first a land having its own people- DRAWADIANS -who are described as 'short in stature, ugly in physical features and voracious in appetites'. But they were more civilized than the foreigners, who first touched the sacred land of Indus, Ganges and Jamna. It was about 2,000 B.C., that the first batch of foreigners - the Indids, who spoke themselves as Aryans - entered India from the north-west and the land where they settled became known as ARYAVARTA. Then successive waves of immigrants followed at intervals for centuries and they all settled in India. The new entrants did not, however, enter this country unopposed. As they attempted to advance towards the interior, they came into conflict with earlier inhabitants. This conflict could not be a final one and India has ever since been subjected to foreign aggressions that took place in ancient, medieval and modern times.

India has received different names. The Chinese traveller Huen Tsang calls it "Intu" and says, "The people of Intu call their country by different names according to the districts". Though this is not exactly the case, yet Aryavarta in Sanskrit and Bharat in later dialect, of-course, refer to the Gangetic plain. Another name that is much popular is Hindustan. It was given to the country by the Muslims

and covered the entire land that was peopled by the non-Muslims who were opposed to them in religion and culture. In modern times Aryavarta is better known to the world as India. This term was first coined by the Greeks, who had taken it from Persian "Hind", and later on it was adopted by the British when they came into contact with the country during the heydays of the Mughal Empire and also when they gradually subjugated it. Each of the three popular names of this country has, of-course, a significance and recalls three definite periods of its history - (1) Hindu Period, (2) Muslim Period, and (3) British Period.

India's contact with the Muslims began in the 8th century i.e., within a century after the birth of Islam as a new religion. It is by common consent that the emergence of Islam is the most remarkable event of the world-history and that it has produced far reaching effects on the destiny of Man and his World. Its founder was Prophet Mohammad of Arabia, who now hardly needs any introduction. Finding the life impossible in Mecca for preaching the new faith, he migrated to Medina with his followers in 624 A.D. It was the first case of migration in the history of Islam, but a very important one. Prior to the celebrated Hijrat (Migration) of the Prophet, Islam was a religion within a state, but in Medina it became 'more than a

religion¹ - an organic force producing political, social, and economic reforms simultaneously with the religious reforms for the good of Man and his World. The origin of Muslim State may be traced back to this date. The new state of Medina established by the Prophet was a working class republic and it was based on some definite principles. The Prophet laid especial emphasis, no doubt, on Tau^hid, i.e. oneness of God and the very idea clashed with the interests of those who were worshippers of many gods and were scattered all over Arabia in the form of countless tribes or clans. But the essence of Tauhid as working idea as Dr. Mohd. Iqbal says, "is equality, solidarity and freedom. The state from the Islamic point of view is an endeavour to transform these principles into space-time forces, an aspiration to realize them into definite human organizations"². The Republic of Medina put into effect these principles and it was immensely benefitted by them. To the surprise of all a great revolution took place in every aspect of life, which redeemed the Arabs from the vices to which they had been subjected and transformed them into a nation, which soon established its reputation as one of the leading powers of the world. The very success and power of the Islamic principles might also be realized from the fact that the small Republic of Medina within a century developed into a mighty empire that not only destroyed two of the

Tauhid

greatest empire of the Middle Ages, but also extended its sway over three continents - Asia, Africa and part of Europe. The rapid rise of Islam and its expansion is usually attributed to the superior military force of the Muslims, but it can not be the only cause, for the success of any revolution or a new idea or a principle ultimately depends on its acceptance by the people. The great principles of Islam fascinated the people wherever they were carried by the armies of Islam and it was through public support that the conquered territories could flourish within the Islamic Empire. By force no lasting solution or success is achieved. Islam's astonishing rise and progress were possible due to its great principles that were accepted by the people, not in a state of duress, but in the light of their utility. These people could not but realize its intrinsic values in the midst of untold sufferings and in an atmosphere surcharged with despair and frustration to which they had been subjected by their previous rulers. Islam introduced to men not only the idea of Oneness of God, but also offered to them the principles of social justice, economical equality and political integrity and stability. It was the united force of the cardinal principles of Islam that led to concrete results in the shape of a small state developing into the greatest, richest and largest empire on the surface of the globe.

The birth of Islamic Republic in Arabia coincides with the fall of the great Hindu Empire in Bharat. The reigning monarch was Raja Harsha, who died in 648 A.D. He had effectively consolidated power and given peace and prosperity to his people, but soon after his death centrifugal tendencies appeared and his Empire/^{broke}into petty independent states.

On the eve of Muslim military operations, India was nothing more than the congeries of small states devoted to destroy each other. "The boundaries of each state", writes N.C. Bandyopadhyaya, "varied with the success or failure of a ruling Prince. Consolidation of authority or building of a stable empire was beyond the comprehension or genius of these chiefs. War for military glory continued the end and aim of their existence³." Among the warring chiefs the notables were the Rajputs, who dominated the political scene. It was with these Rajputs aristocracy that the Muslims measured sword, when they attempted to conquer India.

Sind was the first territorial acquisition of the Muslims in India. In 712 A.D., Mohammad bin Qasim overthrew the Hindu Raja of Sind and thereafter India definitely became an object to satiate the Muslim political ambition. The first conquerors were the Arabs. The Muslims should not be charged as aggressors. The Arabs and the Indians had commer-

cial relation long before the Arab conquest of Sind. The casus belli for the attack is well known. It was only a retaliatory measure to chastise the Indian pirates, who had attacked some Arab ships from Basra. That the Arabs had no aggressive designs against India can be realized from the fact that they did not attempt to expand their territorial acquisitions into an empire and preferred to remain as merchants than become masters of Indian territories.⁴

It was long after this event that India felt the weight of Muslim armed forces under the inspiring leadership of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. He invaded India for seventeen times and every time he returned to his Capital with laurels of victory on his eye-brows, and vast riches that enormously enriched his royal coffer. He, too, did not aim to consolidate his possessions in India and acquire Indian territories to expand his empire. He remained satisfied with the riches that he carried off to Ghazni during his Indian campaigns and also with the reputation as بت شکن (Idol-breaker). Although the Indian situation was much fertile for the easy establishment of a Muslim empire in India, yet the campaigns of this fanatical iconoclast could not go beyond the startling performances of a military genius par excellence.

The Muslim attitude towards India, however, changed when Sultan Shihab-ud-din, better known as Sultan Muiz-ud-din Mohammad Ghorī, began to wield the sceptre of Ghazni. Following the example of his predecessor Sultan Mahmud, he invaded India, but unlike him he aimed at permanent subjugation of conquered territories. When the Chauhan dynasty fell, "the choicest portion of Hindustan passed into his hands".⁵ And for his effective control over them, he left his favourite slave named Qutb-ud-din Aibak as his Viceroy in India at Kohram. It was a new development in the heathen land and an obvious proof that the conqueror was intent to put into effect some definite plans - the conquest of Hindustan and the establishment of a Muslim empire in the heathen land.

Malik Qutb-ud-din Aibak, the Viceroy of Sultan Shihab-ud-din - who remained in India after his master left for Ghazni, took possession of Delhi and its adjacent territories and followed up his success with remarkable ability so that after the death of Sultan Shihab-ud-din, he became his successor in India. It was a startling spectacle for the people of Hindustan as they saw him progressing from a humble position of a slave to that of a grand monarch. He left behind not only an empire, but also a dynasty which ruled over it for nine generations and still enjoys the singular distinc-

tion of providing a female sovereign for the throne of Delhi-Saltanat.

This female sovereign was Raziyyah Begum. After her accession she was called "SULTAN", which usually projects forth the picture of a male sovereign. It was a medieval Muslim tradition to address to a ruler as SULTAN, but in the case of Raziyyah it indicated something more than a tradition. She came to the throne in the 32 nd year of the newly established Muslim empire in Hindustan, where four male sovereigns had already ruled. Of these two enjoyed international reputation; they were Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak and Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish. And others- Sultan Aram Shah and Sultan Rukn-ud-din Feroze Shah- could not achieve any success d'estime. Keeping in view her age and time it really seems very strange that a Muslim Princess in the prime of her life wielded the sceptre of Delhi. How did she come to the throne and attempted to preserve her power and prestige by playing the role of a male sovereign? And what were the results of these acts? The answers may be found in the present work. I will first relate the life - story of the first four Sultans of Delhi and then present a pen picture of the queen, the 5th Sultan of Delhi, illuminating her life and achievements and pointing out her blemishes, if any, from all possible sources, chiefly from the original ones.

It is an irony of fate that this Fair sovereign has been denied her proper place in the galaxy of the great rulers of the world. She created history but in a unique way that could not be comprehended in her time. But modern writers have more facilities and materials to produce any genuine history. The medieval historical verdict with regard to this extraordinary Sultan of Hindustan needs a second thought.

The achievements of Raziyyah and her predecessors and the events of their reigns have been recorded in black and white even during their own times. For the art of historiography developed by the Muslims was very popular among them. Moreover, following a tradition that God mentioned history in quran, they regarded it as a pious and indispensable subject for every man. And there is no doubt that God has told many tales in quran which provide information about the people of the past. And God has given reasons for giving the history of ancient people.

7
وَكُلًّا نَقُصُّ عَلَيْكَ مِنْ أَنْبَاءِ الرُّسُلِ مَا نُثَبِّتُ بِهِ فُؤَادَكَ
وَجَاءَكَ فِي هَذِهِ الْحَقُّ وَمَوْعِظَةٌ وَذِكْرَى لِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ ٥

Trans:

(Mohammad)! "We shall tell you all the stories of the messenger of old through which we shall steady heart; you will find in them the truth and an exhortation

..... and something to be remembered for the believer."

Therefore, history acquired an importance in the eyes of the Muslims, who trace its noble birth in the quranic episodes.⁸

And it is also for this reason that Muslim rulers and society have been conscious since very early time to preserve the records of the previous times and written memorials of their own achievements and activities.⁹

For our knowledge of Raziyyah and her predecessors, there are medieval histories, which were written by those who were either associated with the Darbar or were anxious to win the Sultan's favour through their works. Being the works of officials and fortune-seekers, one may doubt about the facts recorded in them on the plea that they have been written according to the writers' prejudices or coloured by their personal opinions. But it is not correct to conclude that their works are mere freak of fancy or facts given without making proper investigations. Isami in his Futuh-us-Salatin makes no secret of the sources from which he obtained information for writing about the events of the reigns of the various Sultans of Delhi. He clearly states :

10
حکایات شاہان ہندوستان : طبع کردم از باختر و دیستان
هم یا تواریخ کردم ایچ : جو کردم موافق اصول و فروع
کشم دیو پر یک گوهر : بجای که دیدم سزاوار تر
Of-course, it has been a common practice among the medieval

writers to write with conviction and describe the various events to the best of their knowledge. For from the very beginning of Muslim historiography special emphasis has been laid on a historian's moral austerity. In this way he is prevented from indulging into guess works, otherwise there is danger of being included in the list of those persons, who are damned in the eyes of the Prophet. "Beware of conjectures, for ~~the~~ conjectures¹¹ are the greatest lie". ~~One~~ may not agree with a medieval writer on a certain point, but it would be unwise to ignore the medieval works, for they reveal the past, which otherwise would have remained shrouded into mystery. Fortunately almost all the Sultans of Delhi followed the tradition of keeping a court historian, so that in each reign at least one authentic history could be completed under the aegis of royal patronage. To verify the statements of the historians there are Malfuzat of the saints, who always kept themselves away from the Darbar and never stooped to gain the royal favour. The value of the works of the Indian saints can hardly be doubted or diminished. They sprang up side by side with the political histories of the period and thus the two branches of human learning, though depicting two different aspects of life, give a picture of medieval society, as it flourished under a Sultan.

Stanley Lane-poole writes, "The history of medieval

India is merely a chronicle of kings, courts and conquests¹² and not a history of organic or national growth".

Stanley Lane-Poole's remark is appropriate, but to a limited extent only. An ancient Arabic historian interpreted history or Tarikh as a means of giving information about the Time only, but gradually the object of history became Man and Time. The incentive was first provided by the Prophet of Islam, who presented to the suffering humanity the Holy Quran, and his admirers, who regarded it their pious duty to preserve an account of the life of the Prophet from his birth to death. Then the rapid growth of the Muslim empire on the surface of earth contributed to the fertility of historical works. A ruler's zeal to preserve the account of his wars, conquests and achievements in various field led him to patronize the historians. And of-course, before the Ghorian conquest of Hindustan, the Muslim historiography had developed into a perfect art. Therefore, ever since the conquest and establishment of Muslim empire in India, history-writing commenced and here, too, the art of Muslim historiography produced some of its finest flowers.

In reply to Stanley Lane-Poole's remark, the minute observation of Ishwari Prasad deserve quotation:

"Broadly speaking, history deals with the life of man

in its varied aspects and in this sense the history of medieval India is not merely a story of court intrigues and palace conspiracies, but a record of brilliant achievements in the field of conquests and administration and of great social and religious movements".¹³

Superiority of medieval Indian historians is undoubted. The art of historiography is a Muslim contribution to India. Its superiority has been accepted by eminent scholars, who make no secret of their likes and dislikes. Dodwell writes with a note of frankness:

"With the advent of Islam begins a great series of Indian chronicles.....The Muslim chronicles are far superior to our own (English) medieval chronicles. They were written for the most part not by monks, but by men of affairs, often by contemporaries, who had seen and taken part in the event they recounted.....The Muslim period is one of vivid living men whereas the Hindu period is one of shadows".¹⁴

Some writers are prone to provide a distinction between a history and chronicle. However, as a matter of fact they are not distinguishable as two forms of history. A chronicle is a historical account of events in order of times and history is a living chronicle or an account of facts illuminated by Time and Thought. History, according to Abul Fazal, is "a unique pearl of science, which quiets perturbations- physical and spritual-¹⁵ and gives light to darkness external and internal. And he defined chronicles as "records of festivities and convival parties as well as an account of battles and campaigns. They embody the

knowledge of mankind, the wisdom of the wise, the mistakes of the learned, the vicissitudes of life, vain endeavours, empty earnings and wonderful singularities of human existence".¹⁶ And indeed such was the general view of the medieval writers, which can not be despised as outdated even to-day. But a history is more than a chronicle. If enlightenment be brought to the task of chronicle-writing, a history comes into view. If a writer can effectively bring together his knowledge, Brain, and imagination at the common platform of facts, he can produce a synthetic history, otherwise it is mere flotsam and jetsam.

The distinction between chronicle and history leads one to think whether the medieval Indian historical works fall under the category of chronicle or history, but in the ultimate analysis it will be found that a medieval historical work is an amazing mixture of chronicle and history.

After the conquest of Delhi, one of the earliest historical work in Persian that throws light on the Indian situation is the *Tarikh-i-Fakhr-ud-din Mubarak Shah*. The writer, better known as *Fakhr-i-Mudabbir*, belonged to a family which was closely associated with later Ghaznawids. He was present at Lahore when *Qutb-ud-din Aibak* ascended the throne and

crowned himself. This event took place on Shambah, 18th Zil-
qada, 602 A.H./ ¹⁷Monday, 26th June 1206 A.D., and it was after
the coronation that he got an opportunity to be introduced
to the Sultan. On this occasion he presented to him his
Shajra-i-Mubarak Shah, which he had completed in the same
year after spending thirteen years over it. Sultan Qutb-ud-din
Aibak honoured him by ordering the Shajra or Table to be trans-
cribed and bound for his library. The Tables proper are now
extant and only accompanying narratives have come down to
posterity under the title Tarikh-i-Fakhr-ud-din Mubarak Shah.
The summary of the narratives is as follows and it is not
devoid of interest and curiosity for the student of history.

Praise of God and his Prophet; description of the
seven planets, of earth divided into seven climes, of the Fall
of Satan, and of the superiority of Man over the animals; im-
portance of the mission of the Prophet and of the presence of
learned men, value of justice and charity and public works;
description of the events that took place in Ghazni before 1173
A.D., causes of the superiority of the Turks in the Muslim
world; virtues and their importance; an explanation as to how
he came to prepare the genealogical Table, which formed the
main part of the work.

"The Tarikh", as Philips observes, "contains some-
thing of every element of Muslim historiography as it existed
at the beginning of the 12th century in that area of the Mus-
lim world where Persian was dominant language of culture; that
is a universal history in the form of genealogy, a chronology

of military events and an eulogy of the reigning Sultan, furstenspiegel type manners for pious rulers and miscellaneous, cosmological, geographical and ethnographical data".¹⁸

This medieval history about Muslim India is commendable not only for the correct statements and useful informations, but also for its fluent style. In lucid prose and short sentences interspersed sometimes with rare words or names, the writer contrives to give glimpses of the past and his occasional moralising result not in dull sermons, but in reviving the home-truths.

Another book of importance which Fakhr-i-Mudabbir left behind was Adab-i-Harb-o-Shujaat. It was also written early in the 13th century. It is essentially a work on the art of warfare. The author has introduced numerous anecdotes illustrating his subject. They are all related to the Ghaznavids. It is strange that none of the anecdotes refer to Turkish campaigns in India. The writer seems to be more interested in the past than the present. He dedicated this work to Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish.

Taj-ul-Maasir is the second important book that saw light after the memorable works of Fakhr-i-Mudabbir. The Taj was written by Hasan Nizami, who completed it in 1228 A.D.,

and dedicated it to Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish. It is very important from historical point of view, for here the writer sings the victories and virtues of the Sultan, but it is a hotch-potch of facts and fancy in a very confused style. To quote Phillips:

"The Taj-ul-Maasir records a minimum of events with a maximum of florid description, hyperboles, amphibology, homonym, inversions, antithesis, simili; and rhetorical figure drawn from, for example, astrology, medicine, chess, biology and botany. Every army is as numerous as the stars, every soldier is as blood-thirsty as Mars, who carries a lance like a thunder-bolt and a shield like the moon. Melody and rhyme, art and artifice, are preferred to economy and precision in statement. Hasan Nizami's heroes are always brave, victorious, perspicacious, generous and cultured". 19

By virtue of its ornate style, Taj-ul-Maasir shines still in the manuscript form and no text of it is available. Only the pundits of Persian can pool the historical facts that are scattered over the pages like diamonds in the coal mines.

In a quite different style is Minhaj-us-Siraj's Tabaqat-i-Nasiri written in 1259-60 A.D. The writer came from Central Asia and entered the service of Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish in 1228 A.D., and was first appointed qazi of Gwalior and this position he enjoyed in the reign of his two successors. In appreciation of his services Sultan Raziyyah

had appointed him Principal of Nasiria College in Delhi. It was in the reign of Sultan Nasir-ud-din that he began to write his *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* - a general history from the creation of the world till 1260 A.D. He was honoured by the Sultan with the title of *Sadr-i-Jahan* on 16th May, 1254 A.D.

For the student of history Minhaj's historical work is immensely useful. A critic might find blemishes in it, but they come from the pen of an officer working under a superior command. Still they are not glaring and are promptly eclipsed by its virtues. After a perusal of this history from beginning till end, a reader finds a fine story told in a fine style. The importance of this work increases by virtue of the fact that he mentions the sources for writing the past history and he writes about the present from his first hand knowledge of the actual happenings. He was an eye-witness to the events leading to the rise and fall of the successors of Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish and whatever he saw, he put them into writing. He died in the early years of Balban, but he finished his narratives in 1260 A.D. The causes of his silence are not definitely known, ~~though~~ Raverty, the celebrated translator of *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* has only attempted to generalize on this point as he writes:

"One reason of this significant silence on the part of our author (Minhaj), who died in the next reign (Balban's), for a period of nearly six years, is probably that the *Mughals* being so powerful in the Punjab harassed the western frontiers of Delhi territory and occasioned considerable confusion therein and

not being able to chronicle victories, he refrained from continuing his history. Our author's health does not seem to have hindered him, as he continued for sometimes in employment in Balban's reign. There may have been another reason for his silence as some author attribute the death of Nasir-ud-din due to poison administered by Ulugh Khan, although this is extremely doubtful and some say he was starved to death whilst confined by Balban's order. But this is as it may, the silence is ominous."²⁰

Minhaj was a man of great abilities and virtues. He was a theologian, sometimes victim of prejudices, but generally liberal and broadminded; a preacher primed with many moral applications; an officer with deep sense of loyalty; a learned man who was almost encyclopaedic; a historian who was inquisitive and original. He was neither skulker and hedger, nor a visionary and rebel. He has bequeathed to posterity *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, which is a mine of information and without which it is impossible for a modern writer to reshape the history of early Sultans of Delhi. He is the first writer, who has given the short biographies of the *Maliks* who had crowded the political stage in the first half of the 13th century. He is also first to familiarize us with the ways of approach to medieval problems and throws considerable light on the detailed working of administration and on the various grades in imperial service. He has left behind abundant and valuable information, which may be safely accepted as true, for he has narrated the facts with conviction and whenever he could not be satisfied with his statement, he immediately wrote والله اعلم بالصواب (God

only knows what is right). His statements are always clear, but unfortunately the medieval writers who came after him perceived in his account of Sultan Raziyyah some anomaly and thereby found an excuse to give an erratic and blurred picture of the queen. He is in no way responsible for their mistakes, but a tradition of moral condemnation of the queen developed, which lasted for centuries. In the present century, too, some traditionalists might be found, who spent hours in amplifying Minhaj's simple words نَرَقِي اَمْتَار and found the contemporary historian ignorant of the feelings of his queen. To cap the climax one of them even pries into the mind of the queen and finds her in some trepidation as a coquette.

"He (Minhaj) was unable to understand that she could be in love with both Yaqut and Altuniah and still may not be guilty of any lapse. Trained in the orthodox way of life Minhaj could not comprehend a dual involvement of such emotional nature, where the love of one did not exclude the love for the other." 21

And this critic in support of his statement quotes two verses from Shelley.

True love in this differs from gold and clay
That to divide is not to take away. 22

Minhaj was, of-course, not incapable of interpreting one's sentiments, for he was not a conservative in the extreme. On the contrary, he appears to be a good poet as well. In his Nasir Nama he is not an ordinary poet. He beautifully celebrates

the victory over the Mongols; and gives a fine pen-picture of the battle scenes. He was not a poet of the highest order, still his poetry was good enough to secure for him a permanent²⁴ royal grant from Sultan Nasir-ud-din for one year.

Minhaj's *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* is a general history of Islam from the patriarchs and prophets to the time of Sultan Nair-ud-din Mahmud. It is divided into 23 *Tabaqat* or collections of biographical notes and annals arranged in generations and capped with suitable dynastic head-lines. Full of facts and detailed narratives, the *Tabaqat* is not only the first general history of Islam written in India, but also the finest flower of the 13th century Muslim historical art and the only contemporary source of information for the period under review.

Another history of great importance belonging to the 13th century is *Tarikh-i-Jahan Kusha*. Its author was Ala-ud-din Ata Malik bin Baha-ud-din Mohammad Juwaini (1225-1283 A.D.). It is not a history of Muslim India; it is mainly concerned with the activities of the Mongols. It is divided into three parts: first deals with Chingiz Khan and his ancestors; the second contains the account of the life of Shah of Khwarizim till the decline of the Khwarizm Shahi dynasty; and the third throws light on the origin and development of the Ismailis. It is in connection with the activities of the Mongols that India finds reference in the pages of Juwaini's history and these refe-

references are very valuable and full of details, but upto the reign of Sultan Iltutmish.

In the beginning of the 14th century, the first book of any importance for the period under review is Tazjiyat-al-Amsar-wa-Tajriat-al-Asr or Tarikh-i-Wassaf that saw light in 1300 A.D. This work takes up the history at a point where Juwaini's Tarikh-i-Jahan Kusa finishes. It is also essentially a Mongol History, yet it gives a short account of Delhi Saltanat. His knowledge about India, however, seems to be scanty, for he has given a confused account of the reigns of the Sultans of Delhi.

Next comes Jami-ut-Tawarikh of Rashid-ud-din that appeared in 1310 A.D. In this work, too, only a few references about India might be found in connection with the Mongols. However as a history of the Mongols, it is most complete and its value is unquestionable. What is more! As Bernard Lewis opines, "The genuine universal history of Islam - probably in the world - is that of Rashid-al-Din (The Jami-at-Tawarikh".) In an abridged form it may be found in the history written by Fakhr-ud-din Binakiti, that was completed in 1317 A.D.

Of great importance and interest is Amir Khusrau's Deval Rani and Khizr Khan. It is a Mathnawi of historical ro-

Nightingale.

x mance that the ایک طوطی (Parrot of India) composed in 1316 A.D. He was born in 1253 A.D., at a time when the newly established Muslim empire had come to stay, but was subjected to recurring Mongol-raids. His name was Mohammad Hasan, but this name is chiefly known to his biographers and to the general readers he is best known as Amir Khusrau. He belonged to a respectable family, which was intimately connected with the Imperial Court and Nobility. His father Amir Saif-ud-din Mahmud enjoyed a position of trust in the government of Sultan Iltutmish, and was respected by his successors. He, however, did not live long enough to see his son rising to the zenith of fame and popularity. Amir Khusrau made his appearance first as a poet. He was then only eighteen years old. His connection with the Court and nobles provided him ample opportunities to display his merits and by sheer dint of his extraordinary genius he soon became a popular figure among the elite of his day. He composed poems not only in Persian, but also in Arabic and Hindi. He sang the glories of the Sultans of Delhi from Balban to Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaque and during this period he remained the Court poet unmindful of the fluctuations of the fortunes of the Sultans who occupied the throne.

Amir Khusrau was a born poet. He was a prolific

writer, who, it is said, left some half million of verses. But he did not remain satisfied with the art of Poesy and traversed other fields too. And here also his genius found full play. He was philosopher, poet, soldier and statesman— all were united in his person to make him one of the most important characters in medieval history.

Amir Khusrau was essentially a poet, but he did not soar high on the wings of his imagination without fixing his gaze on earth. That is why the students of history also find some interest in his writings, for they serve as original sources supplementing the previous historical works regarding the early Sultans of Delhi. If his four Diwans and five metrical romances have immortalized his fame as a poet, his five historical romances have their own charms and value.

Of the five historical romances, Dewal Rani and Khizr Khan is of great importance for the period under review. Here the poet gives a brief account of the Sultans of Delhi. In a few selected musical words he gives their pen pictures, which astonishingly serve as microcosm of history of their reigns.

Dewal Rani-wa- Khizr Khan is also known as Ashiq, or Qissa-i- Khizr Khan or Nuskha-i-Khizr Khan-u-Diwal Rani.

We learn from Abul Fazle that this romance was one of the favourite books of Akbar the Great, and it was frequently read to him; and whenever the Mughal Emperor listened to it, he was deeply moved and could not suppress his tears.²⁶

Amir Khusrau's Dewal Rani-wa-Khizr Khan proved a great success and inspired other writers to present romantic stories or historical romances in verse. It was not an easy task, still some poets attempted, but none could compete with Amir Khusrau, who is still unrivalled in this field.

After Amir Khusrau ceased to exist, Isami was the only poet during the Saltanat period, who could present the versified history of the Sultans of Delhi. He was a contemporary of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq and one of the migrants, who went to Daulatabad obeying the royal firmans. At first he passed his days there in great difficulties, but eventually he found a patron in Sultan Ala-ud-din Bahman Shah- the founder of the independent Bahmani Kingdom in the Deccan. A number of authentic histories now lost, were at his disposal. Besides, as he himself says, he had listened to oral traditions - anecdotes, legends, and stories current among his relatives and friends. On the basis of these sources, he attempt-

ed to compose a Shahnama of Hindustan. It was an ambitious scheme, yet he succeeded in composing his celebrated Futuh-us-Salatin in 1349-50 A.D., which contains nearly twelve thousand verses. It is noteworthy that he commences his historical romance with Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni and describes the reigns of all the Sultans of Delhi with picturesque details ending it with the year 1349 A.D.

The novelty of the commencement of Futuh-us-Salatin deserves to be noted, for it is an obvious departure from the tradition of earlier historians who wrote about Muslim India prefixing the ancient history of Islamic world. Though the historical value of this work for the period under review is doubtful and his account of Sultan Mohammad bin Tughlaq is not without a tinge of hostility, nevertheless this masterpiece of Indian Firdausi is indispensable for the students of Indian history, and of-course, each of the celebrated trio - Hasan Nizami, Amir Khusrau and Isami - has a distinct place in history by virtue of his historical works. Futuh-us-Salatin may have blemishes of mixing facts with fancy, yet it has its poetic beauties and historical value as well. Amir Khusrau's Ashiqa is a superb work and Futuh-us-Salatin pales into insignificance before it, yet it eclipses Taj-ul-Maasir both in subject matter and style.

X For some of the events of the formative period of the Saltanat of Delhi, Ibn Khaldun's Kitab'l Ibrar or Tarikh-i-Ibn Khaldun, a universal history, is very useful. He was born in Tunis about the year 734 A.H./1333 A.D., and died at Tlemcen in Ramzan 780 A.H./ January 1379 A.D. He completed his history towards the close of his life. He was many sided genius - statesman, philosopher, sociologist, and historian, but it is his Muqadimah or Prolegomenon to his chef d' oeuvre (Introduction to Tarikh-i-Ibn Khaldun) that has secured for him eternal fame. It is a long dissertation where he has expressed his opinion about history and explained the methods to produce a truly scientific work. His life and work have formed the subject of innumerable works and still he retains his position as the first scientific historian of the world.

To the 14th century belongs also Munsha-at-i-Mahru. It is also known as Insha-i-Mahru or Trassal-i-Ain-ul-Mulk Multani. It is a collection of official documents and private letters dating from the end of the eight century A.H. It is neither a history or historical romance, yet its historical value is not only unquestionable, but also great. No writer before him or after attempted to give information about the Saltanat of Delhi in this typical form.

Its author was in the imperial service during the reign of Feroze Shah. His main intention was to dazzle his readers by the novelty of his idea and style so that his letters might serve as models for official correspondence. He, therefore, wrote several letters in an elegant and flowery style. He, however, omits the names of the persons and places. Consequently the genuineness of letters might be doubted, but the various illusions and references to historical persons belonging to the second half of the 8th century A.H., make them real as well as interesting.

In Munshiat-i-Mahru the author has given his full name and also the abbreviated form of his name ²⁷. His full name in one letter is Abdullah Mohammad Sharaf and in another with official titles it is Malik-us-Sharq-wal-Wuzra Ayn-ulMulk, Ayn-ud-daula-wad-din.....Abdullah Mahru.

In the collection there are 124 letters, which have been systematically arranged. First come official letters and then private letters. The author's own letters are addressed ^(a) to divines, sufis, qazis etc., (b) to princes, noble men, officials, (c) to friendly relatives and subordianates, and (d) to the sons of Feroze Shah.

For the identity of Abdullah Mahru both Zia-ud-din Barani and Shams-i-Siraj Afif have given clues in their

historical works. Afif not only calls him Ayn-i-Mahru,²⁸ but also describes his status as the governor of Sind and even ascribes to him a book under the title Ayn-ul-Mulki.²⁹

The historical importance of the collection lies in the fact that it gives vivid glimpses of the contemporary situation as well as makes casual references to Sultan Shihab-ud-din alias Mohammad Ghorī,³⁰ and the early Sultans of Delhi.³¹ Abdullah Mahru's work is not generally mentioned as one of the sources for medieval India owing to its figurative language and ornamental style. But no sooner one crosses this obvious hurdle and discovers its contents, its great historical value becomes quite clear to the discerning eyes. A rare manuscript of this work is preserved in the Library of Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta.

Rehala of Ibn Battutah is another thrilling book belonging to the 14th century. It is not a history proper, but it is very useful from historical point of view, for it embodies the impressions of a traveller who visited India during the reign of Mohammad bin Tughlaq, and remained there from 1334 to 1342A.D. Ibn Battutah, the Moorish traveller, had completed it in 1335A.D. The narratives given in it read like the stories of infinite charm and they have their basis on what he saw and heard. Some of its critics deny to accept it as an authority for the medie-

val India , and do not rate it higher than the bazar-gossips. No doubt, the element of romance is considerable in the Rehala, but the facts revealed in it are no less startling. His account of Sultan Mohammad Tughlaque with whom he came into contact and whom he served in various capacities, can not be rejected as totally baseless. Here one might find an exaggeration of truths.

Rehala has another peculiarity. Ibn Batutah has given in it a short history of early Sultans of Delhi as well as that of the Capital of Muslim India. It is from him that we know something new about them - Justice of Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish, power of people (power of the citizens of Delhi) and the martyrdom of Sultan Raziyyah Begum at the hands of a peasant whom she found tilling the soil after she managed to escape from the battlefield.

The other very important historical works of the 14th century A.D., are Zia-ud-din Barani's Tarikh-i-Feroze Shahi and Fatwa-i-Jahandari and Shams-i-Siraj Afif's Tarikh-i-Feroze Shahi, but they are not very useful for the study of the first six Sultans of Delhi, for they refer to them only for once or twice.

It is after an interval of three decades that a historical work makes its appearance that may be counted as a source book for the history of the Sultans. It was Tarikh-i-

Mubarak Shahi written by Yahya Sarhindi, who completed it between 1428-1434 A.D.

Minhaj-us-Sitaj brings the history of Muslim India in his Tabaqat-i-Nasiri till 1260 A.D. Then Zia-ud-din Barani makes his contribution towards it and carries it till 1356 A.D. It is thereafter taken up by Shams-i-Siraj Afif, who describes the entire reign of Sultan Feroze Shah Tughlaque till 1388 A.D. And the next contributor is Yahya bin Abdullah Sirhindi. Yahya wrote a general history, which is not only free from the superfluities of language, but also it is full of information. This work is especially useful for providing informations about the reigns of the Sultans of Lodi Dynasty and Yahya is the only source of information with regard to this particular period of Indian history. His accounts of the reigns of early Sultans of Delhi, though concise, have some importance, as some of his statements rouse the curiosity of the readers and the facts revealed by him appear to be startling. These are particularly noticable in his account of Sultan Raziyyah.

Yahya mentions only twenty-six sultans in the list of the rulers and he does not provide a separate headline for describing the reign of Sultan Aram Shah. He acknowledges his obligations to different historians, who wrote before him, but he seems to be inquisitive ^{and} sometimes even sentimental.

He tries to give correct date of an event as far as possible and indeed as a chronicler his honesty can not be doubted, yet his tendency to moralize at the end of each reign in a poetic mood, is new and sometimes severe. For the blurred picture of Sultan Raziyyah in the pages of historians who came after him, he may be held responsible to a great extent, for he is first writer, who presents the history of this fair Sultan of Hindustan inserting thereto his own conjectures about her activities. Isami writes a poetical history and of-necessity displays the flight of his imagination, yet he does not close his eyes to the realities of life. On the contrary, Yahyah's poetic effusions ignore the facts of her life and thereby establish a bad precedent from which unfortunately the other writers could not remain immuned, as they honestly copied his statements. He has done great injustice to Sultan Raziyyah's memory by his criticism of her conduct, for the later writers, who borrowed materials from him could not ever think of him as unreliable. He seems to be unmindful of the consequences of what he wrote and criticised. For "history in the eyes of Yahyah was only a means of winning royal favour"; and "it was a body of transmitted facts not to be questioned, but to be adorned at random by suitable saws and conventional morals in verse form". When such were the opinions of Yahyah, it is

no wonder that he could unscrupulously write about the Malika to create a wrong impression about her.

With a few exceptions, the value of medieval political histories is quite obvious. And the Malfuzat of Saints, too, are of great value. They contain some very useful materials, which sometimes supplement the work of a historian, and sometimes reveal the truth of his statements. Malfuz-writing is one of the most important literary inventions of medieval India. Sayings of the saints were no doubt collected and compiled in other Muslim countries, but in India this art got a fresh momentum and for the first time asserted its existence in Fawa'id-ul-Fuad. Its author was Hasan Sijzi, the favourite disciple of Hazrat Nizam-ud-din Aulia - the great Saint of Delhi. It was completed on 20th Shaban 722 A.H./ 1307 A.D., and soon after its completion it became very popular among the mystics and was treated as a Dastur-ul-Amal for them. It depicts, no doubt, the life and principles of the Chishti saints, but in doing so it also mirrors the life of the Middle Ages. As Philips remarks, "Its genuineness is beyond doubt. The author records the saying of Sheikh Nizam-ud-din Aulia and the Saint ever spoke on the basis of what he had himself seen or heard from reliable persons". In this book some references may be found to the Sultans of Delhi, which further enhance its importance as a source of information.

Amir Hasan Sijzi's Fawaid-ul-Fuad inspired other devotees of the Saints to preserve and compile the Malfuzat. Some of the notable works are (1) Siyar-ul-Aulia written by Amir Khurd in 1357 A.D., (2) Khair-ul-Majalis written by Hamid Qalandar in 1358 A.D., (3) Saroor-us-Sadur written by a son of Farid-ud-din Mahmud and a grandson of Sheikh Hamid-ud-din Sawali Nagauri, after the exodus to Deogirh that was ordered by Sultan Mohammad bin Tughlaque.

After the invasion of Timur no detailed political history comes into view till the Saltanat disappears. Yahyah's Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi seems to be the last history of medieval India in Persian, belonging to the Saltanat Period. The paucity of historical work at this stage is due to the deteriorating political condition of Hindustan caused by Timur's invasion and not due to any decline of educational standard, for another form of historical work made its appearance that may be termed as local or regional histories. The rapid growth of such histories, however, took place during the next centuries. Of the local histories notice should be taken of the following:

- i. Tarikh-i-Masumi or Tarikh-i-Sind of Mohd. Masum.
- ii. Tarikh-i-Tahiri of Mohammad Tahir.
- iii. Gwalior Nama of Hiramani Munshi.
- iv. Riyaz-us-Salatin of Gholam Hussain Salim.
- v. Haft Aqlim of Amin. b. Ahmad Razi completed in 1593-94 A.D.

All these local histories are useful from historical point of view, but ^{they have} only a corroborative value.

Emperor Akbar's deep interest in the deeds and achievements of the rulers, who had ruled over Hindustan before him, again revived the art of historiography and broke the silence of more than half a century. Under his kind patronage a galaxy of historians exclusively devoted themselves to produce historical works and they reaped a rich harvest. The son and successors of Emperor Akbar followed his tradition and the result was astonishing. Of the histories compiled during the Mughal Period it is worthy to note that a large number of them give valuable information about the Sultans ³⁶, sometimes confirming the stories of contemporary historical works and sometimes extending the contemporary legends. Some of these general histories have been translated into English and some are still in the manuscript form. Each has its own distinction, but in form each of them is generally an epitome of the two great ages of the Sultans and Shahinshas(Emperors).

Apart from histories, religious literature and other non-political writings, the archaeological and numismatic evidences, too, provide materials to ascertain facts connected with the life and reigns of the Sultans. A list of works, which have been consulted for study, is given in the Bibliography.

NOTES

1. History of the Arabs, P.117;
2. Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, P.164;
3. Development of Hindu Polity and Political Theories, P.161;
4. "The Arabs had conquered Sind. The conquest was only an episode in the history of India and of Islam, a triumph without result".(Introduction To Medieval India Under Mohammadan Rule, P.11).
5. Ain-i-Akbari (Eng.Tr. Jarret and Sarkar), P.307;
6. Historians of the Middle East, P.3;
7. Quran, 12-11-120;
8. History of Muslim Historiography, P.220;
9. Historians of The Middle East, P.3;
10. Futuh-us Salatin, P.679, 11-11440-45;
11. A History Of Muslim Historiography, P.299;
12. Preface To Medieval India Under Mohammadan Rule, P.iv;
13. Preface To The History Of Medieval India, P.1 ;
14. INDIA, pp. 22-23;
15. Vide, Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon, P.146;
16. Ibid;
17. Tarikh-i-Ferishta, P.63;
18. Vide, Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon, P.117;
19. Historians Of India, Pakistan and Ceylon, P.124;
20. Tabaqat- i - Nasiri (Eng.Tr.), P.716;

21. Razia : Queen of India, P.150;
22. Ibid;
23. TN.(Eng.Tr.), P.680-81;
24. Ibid;
25. The Use By Muslim Historians of Non-Muslim Sources, P.183;
26. Akbar Nama , iii , P.89;
27. Vide, Insha-i-Mahru (MS.A.S.B.),ff.48, 77;
28. E.D.111, pp.246-248;
29. Ibid, P.369;
30. Insha-i-Mahru (MS.A.S.B.), f.45b;
31. Ibid, 22, 47b, 105;
32. Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon, P.120;
33. Historians of Medieval India, P.67;
34. Ibid;
35. It is one of the famous Geographical Dictionaries in Persian. It deals not so much with geography as with history. It is a combination of the biographical dictionary and local history. Here the biographical materials have been presented under towns and countries with some description of the geography of the towns and cities.
36. Of the histories compiled during the Mughal Period the following deserve to be noted :
 1. Ain-i-Akbari
 2. Hadiqat-us-Safa
 3. Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh
 4. Lub-ut-Tawarikh
 5. Maasir-i-Rahimi
 6. Mirat-ul-Alam
 7. Mirat-i-Jahan Numa
 8. Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh
 9. Rauzat-ut-Tahirin
 10. Tabaqat-i-Akbari
 11. Tarikh-i-Ferishta
 12. Tazkirat-ul-Mulk

CHAPTER.1.

THE DAWN OF A NEW ERA SULTAN QUTB-UD-DIN AIBAK

Few persons are destined to earn the appellation of great conqueror and empire builder. With the coming of the celebrated Crescent in Hindu India, known as Bharat, crises followed in quick succession which placed this country upon the threshold of Medieval Period. One of the great favourites of Fortune was Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak, the co-architect of the Saltanat i.e the Muslim Empire in Bharat. He laid the foundation of the Slave Dynasty, which threw on the steps of throne nine rulers including one queen— Sultan Raziyyah Begum. Under Aibak's aegis the Crescent steadily moved forward so that the dawn of a new era was heralded in the heathen land. Historians, medieval and modern, have given an account of his life; but sometimes this account is very short, sometimes incomplete and in other cases some important questions connected with his life have remained unanswered. A history of this First Emperor of Hindustan and the founder of the Slave Dynasty has yet to be written.

In order to understand Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak better, the great ancestor of Sultan Raziyyah Begum, his life must be studied under two heads;

(A). Qutb-ud-din Aibak as the Viceroy and Commander-in-Chief of Sultan Shihab-ud-din;

(B). Qutb-ud-din Aibak as a ruler.

(A). MALIK QUTB-UD-DIN AIBAK — THE VICEROY AND COMMANDER-in-CHIEF.

Qutb-ud-Din Aibak was one of the favourite Turkish slaves of Sultan Shihab-ud-din Mohammad Ghorī alias Sultan Muiz-uddīn Mohammad Sam.¹ In his childhood, he was brought up by a slave merchant from Turkistan to Nishapur, where he was purchased by Qazi Fakhr-ud-din Abdul Aziz bin Imam Abu Hanafi Kufi.² Finding that Aibak was an intelligent boy, the Qazi took special interest in his training and education, so that under his kind patronage, he received lessons together with his sons in Quran and Hadis, learnt Arabic and Persian, acquired the arts of war, and developed good and appreciable manners. When he grew up, he was looked upon as a good and gentle young man, a promising youth, though not beautiful in appearance.³ But when he reached the stage of manhood, the Qazi expired. A rich merchant then bought him for a considerable sum and presented him for sale to Sultan Shihab-ud-din. On seeing the young slave, the Sultan purchased him at a high cost.⁴ This slave was called Aibak Shal, for his little finger was broken.⁵

Qutb-ud-din Aibak honestly and diligently served Sultan Shihab-ud-din, so that within a short time he gained his affection and confidence. One night Sultan Shihab-ud-din arranged a magnificent Darbar, and lavishly distributed presents among his servants.⁶ After leaving the Darbar, Aibak dis-

tributed his share among his ~~own~~ companions and servants saying that he should not cultivate the habit of collecting presents when he was fortunate in having a liberal and generous monarch. In the morning this news reached the Sultan and he was so much delighted that he again richly rewarded Aibak and gave him an office near his person and appointed him Amir-i- Akhur⁷(Master of the Horses).

The close relation between the Sultan and the slave continued to prosper and Aibak made rapid progress and achieved celebrity by sheer dint of his merits. He accompanied the Sultan in every expedition and thereby got opportunities to display his martial prowess . Unfortunately while fighting for his master against the Shah of Khwarizm, he fell into the hands of enemies and the Shah threw him behind the iron bars⁸. But after a few days when the Sultan defeated the Shah of Khwarizm, he was discovered by his men and brought before him on a camel⁹. The Sultan received his favourite slave with kindness and again gave him many gifts¹⁰.

After this event, Aibak soon distinguished himself in many battles in India, when Sultan Shihab-ud-din marched with his forces towards it in accordance with a dream in which a holy person gave him a key and asked him to open the gates of India and take possession of it¹¹. The rotten political condition of India caused by political rivalries,

civil wars, disunity and personal ambition of certain chiefs was, of-course, responsible for encouraging Sultan Shihab-ud-din to attempt the conquest of India. The first battle of Tarain that took place in the year 587 A.H./1191 A.D., proved disastrous for the Sultan.¹² The famous Rajput ruler of Ajmer, who was leading the confederation of the Hindu Rajas, inflicted a crushing defeat upon him and it was with difficulty that he could save his life and reached his Capital (Ghazni)¹³ safely. Unmindful of this defeat, the Sultan again resolved to make a second attempt to conquer the heathen land, and in the second battle of Tarain, he came out with flying colours.¹⁴ Rai Pithora was captured,¹⁵ his head was severed and brought before the victorious Sultan. This great event took place in 588 A.H./1192 A.D.¹⁶ After the conquest of Ajmer, all the Swalik Hills, Hansi, Sarsauti, Samana, Kohram and other districts fell in rapid succession to the victor. He also obtained a vast¹⁷ booty.

Sultan Shihab-ud-din, of-necessity, did not annex Ajmer as he was shrewed enough to realise the difficulties in doing so. On receiving the tribute from the son of Rai Pithora, he allowed him to govern his ancestral state. Likewise, the Sultan entrusted the government of Delhi to a relation of Rai Gobind, who was killed during the 2nd Battle of Tarain.¹⁸ He then returned to Ghazni.

Before leaving India, Sultan Shihab-ud-din took another

calculated step to consolidate his power in the conquered territories. He appointed Aibak as the Governor of Kohram¹⁹ and Samana²⁰ and conferred upon him the title of Qutb-ud-din - the Pole Star of the Faith; and in appreciation of his services he also nominated him as the ruler of Hindustan²¹. He left Aibak at Kohram so that he might attempt further conquest from this strategic²² place, which was at a distance of seventy kos from Delhi²³. After his sovereign's departure, Qutb-ud-din Aibak sincerely fulfilled the royal wishes.

Aibak well administered the conquered territories, and after consolidating his authority in Kohram, he evolved an extensive programme of conquests. He first conquered Meerut²⁴ and soon thereafter marched towards Delhi. A severe battle took place between the two forces near Janna till the water of the river was discoloured with the blood of the martyres. But Aibak eventually succeeded in capturing Delhi in 588 A.H./²⁵ 1192 A.D. Next year i.e., in the year 589 A.H./ 1193 A.D., he conquered Kol²⁶, which was one of the most celebrated fortresses in Hindustan. In the same year he proclaimed Delhi as the Dar-ul-Khilafa of the Saltanat-i-Hind²⁷ i.e., the Capital of India and captured its adjacent territories²⁸.

In the month of Ramzan of this year (589), he

* received the news that Jitwan, a relative of the Raja of Naharwala, was moving forward at the head of a large force to conquer Kanauj and Benaras. Aibak immediately left Kol²⁹ to meet Jitwan, for he³⁰ wanted to utilize the situation to make new conquests. On seeing him the ambitious Hindu chief solicited his friendship by offering hundred best Turkish³¹ horses, one golden and one silver chain for elephants and fifty thousand soldiers. In return Aibak bestowed upon him a robe of honour³². Jitwan as an ally served him when he made an attempt to conquer Kanauj and Benaras³³. The Viceroy of Delhi, however, could not put this scheme of conquest into effect immediately, for a certain development in Ghazni, necessitated his presence there. He, therefore, left suddenly for Delhi.

The news of Aibak's constant success and successive victories enlivened the heart of his sovereign, but provoked the jealousy of some of his military officers. Out of enmity³⁴ they tried to poison the ear of the Sultan against him and sought to discredit him in his eyes by making false statement and circulating false reports about him. The Sultan did not put faith on their words, but still to be sure he desired³⁵ to put Aibak to a test. Accordingly he sent a special messenger³⁶ to Delhi, and invited him to reach Ghazni³⁷.

From the messenger Aibak came to know about the conspiracy that was being engineered by his enemies to remove him from royal favour. He requested the messenger to inform the Sultan immediately that he was a sincere well wisher of His Majesty and still belonged to the august Darbar.³⁸ And within a week he himself proceeded to Ghazni, though the summer heat of Hindustan did not permit any journey.³⁹ Before his departure he appointed Iltutmish to act in his absence as the Viceroy and govern the country.⁴⁰

On his way to Ghazni, Aibak conquered the fort of Ahranwarah for his sovereign.⁴¹ As he reached the borders of Ghazni, the Sultan consulted his Vazir whether he should allow Aibak to enter his Capital or imprison him. The Vazir spoke highly of Aibak and assured the Sultan that his slave was honest and that he should not have ^{an} iota of doubt about his fidelity.⁴² He pacified the Sultan on the grounds that Aibak quickly responded to his invitation, conquered the fort of Ahranwarah to add to the glory of the sovereign and himself sought permission to have access to His Majesty leaving behind the forces that had accompanied him at a long distance from Ghazni.⁴³ The Vazir's reply satisfied the Sultan and Aibak received a grand welcome first from the Vazir who had asked him to stay as his guest before allowing him to go to the Darbar and then from the Sultan.⁴⁴ In a meeting with the Sultan, Aibak performed the usual ceremonies before him and

offered the key of the fort of Ahranwarah together with the vast booty that fell into his hands during the absence of the ⁴⁵Sultan. In this meeting the Sultan discussed with him the charge that was brought against him by a group of men. Aibak was greatly perturbed. But he assured him that he was ready to fulfil any royal behest that would please him and exonerate his slave from the clumsy charge. Thereupon the Sultan asked him to conceal himself under the royal throne. At the same time he ordered Aibak's enemies to be brought to the imperial court. When they came and repeated the charge, the Sultan asked them to write with their blood that if the charge proved false, they might be condemned and put to the sword. ⁴⁶Without any hesitation they wrote the letter and submitted it before the Sultan. After receiving this letter, the Sultan clapped and called Aibak to come out of the throne. Aibak's enemies were struck with wonder and confounded, when they saw him beneath the throne. At his master's call, he came out and at once presented himself with his usual humility before the ⁴⁷Sultan. Thereupon, the Sultan issued a royal decree, which condemned Aibak's enemies and sentenced them to death. ⁴⁸But Aibak did not approve of it and pleaded the Sultan to forgive ⁴⁹them. It was at the request of Aibak that the Sultan revoked the previous order and allowed the mischievous ⁵⁰persons to go back home safely. Test over, the Sultan highly appreciated the services and sincerity of his beloved

slave and honoured him in an open Darbar by appointing him the Viceroy of Hindustan. He then granted him permission to return to Delhi and empowered him again to carry on the mission and great designs as ⁵¹ before.

After his brief sojourn at Ghazni, Aibak returned to Delhi. He built there the Jama Masjid and adorned it with the stones and gold taken from the temples which had been demolished during the wars with the Hindu Rajas. And this mosque he covered with Tughra containing the divine ⁵² commands.

In the year 590 A.H./1193 A.D., Aibak received the news that ~~the~~ Sultan Shihab-ud-din was intending to visit Hindustan. He, ⁵³ therefore, left Kohram and reached as far as Peshawar to welcome him. He acquainted the Sultan with the prevailing condition in Hindustan and suggested that he should deal with Raja Jaichand, ⁵⁴ who had invaded the Muslim territories. The Sultan at his suggestion directed his forces against Raja Jaichand. A severe battle took place near ⁵⁵ Chandwal that was second only to the Battle of Tarain in its singular fury and significance. In this battle Iltutmish distinguished himself by displaying extraordinary courage and determination at the moments when the imperial forces were wavering before the impressive and

and vast armies of the Rajas.⁵⁶ Raja Jaichand fought bravely, but he lost his life when Aibak's arrow fatally pierced through his body.⁵⁷ The number of the slain was so great that it was with great difficulty that Jaichand's body could be discovered on the battlefield by his artificial teeth fixed with golden wires.⁵⁸ The royal army then took possession of the fort of Asni, where the treasures of Raja Jaichand were deposited.⁵⁹

After this victory, Sultan Shihab-ud-din marched forward and conquered the territories between Benaras and Bengal without any serious opposition,⁶⁰ and then returned to Ghazni with untold riches that were carried on four thousand camels.⁶¹ Aibak alone offered three hundred elephants to his Sultan that formerly belonged to Jaichand.⁶²

An uncommon event took place when the elephants presented by Aibak were brought before the royal presence and asked to salute him.⁶³ All but one white elephant refused to obey the order of the filban and when he insisted and forced him to make his obeisance, the animal became so furious that the very life of the filban was endangered.⁶⁴ The Sultan sent back the white elephant to Aibak as a gift with a letter in which he addressed him as his son and his royal

Wiceroy always rode on this white elephant, which was a
⁶⁵ rare animal. This elephant died on the third day after
⁶⁶ the death of Aibak.

After the departure of Sultan Shihab-ud-din,
Aibak returned to the Indian capital, but on his way to
Delhi he received the news that 'Kola', son of Rai Pitho-
ra had been defeated by a Rajput Chief named Hemraj, who
led his forces from Alwar to Ajmer and then to Ranthanbore.
⁶⁷
Aibak successfully dealt with him and after making neces-
sary arrangements for the security of 'Kola' and that of
⁶⁸ Muslim interests in Ajmer returned to Delhi.

Soon thereafter he received some information
about the activities of another Rajput Chief named Jihtar
⁶⁹ Rai. He, therefore, proceeded to chastise him at the head
of a large force consisting of 20,000 soldiers. Finding it
⁷⁰ impossible to meet him on the battlefield, the Rai managed
to escape towards Ajmer.
⁷¹ Aibak pursued him and reached Aj-
mer where Humraj had established himself as the Raja of
Ajmer shortly after the departure of Aibak.
⁷² Hemraj decid-
ed to fight, but in the battle that ensued he lost Ajmer,
which again passed into the hands of Muslims. Hemraj es-
⁷³ caped and took refuge into a hill. Jihtar Rai was captured
and beheaded and his severed head was sent to Delhi.
⁷⁴

Aibak

In the year 591 A.H./1192⁷⁵, A.D./directed his forces towards Naharwala(Gujrat). Jitwan, the Commander-in-chief of the Raja, who was at the foot of the fort, fled away without offering any resistance⁷⁶ and therefore the country^{was} easily annexed to the Saltanat. Here immense booty fell⁷⁷ into the hands of Aibak.

Aibak next turned his attention towards Hansi⁷⁸ and fortified it. He then reached Kohram where some trouble had occurred. He conquered it again and then returned to⁷⁹ Delhi.

In the meantime, Qam-ul-mulk Hamzah, the fee-fee of Ranthanbore, reported that Hemraj had beseiged the fort of Ajmer and imprisoned 'Kola', the son of Rai Pithra.⁸⁰ As he was a tributary of the Sultan, Aibak immediately proceeded to Ajmer for his rescue. On his arrival Hemraj again fled away and 'Kola' felt himself secured on the throne of his ancestor. In appreciation of Aibak's prompt help⁸¹ he offered him three gold melons.

After settling the Ajmer-affairs, Aibak came back to Delhi⁸² and reported about his success to Sultan Shihab-ud-din. The Sultan invited him to Ghazni to receive the robe of honour for his magnificent performances in

Hindustan. In response to the royal invitation, Aibak reached Ghazni. But before leaving the Ghorian Capital, he fell ill.⁸³ The royal physician, who was famous as Jalinos of his time, treated him and on recovery ~~he~~⁸⁴ returned to Hindustan.

On his way to Hindustan when Aibak reached Kirman, Malik Taj-ud-din Yalduz, another favourite slave of Sultan Shihab-ud-din, extended a warm welcome to him and in deference to a royal wish entered into a matrimonial alliance with him.⁸⁵

On reaching Delhi, he decorated it on the pattern of other Islamic Capitals. This year also saw the completion of Jama Masjid.⁸⁶ Having beautified the Capital, Aibak again evolved a scheme of conquests. But as he was preparing to march, the news of Sultan Shihab-ud-din's movements for the same purpose reached him. He, therefore, advanced to receive his sovereign as far as Hansi.⁸⁷ The royal forces attacked the fort of Thangar and captured it.⁸⁸ Its Raja Kumar Pall fell into their hands, but the Sultan pardoned his life, though he was divested of his possessions.⁸⁹

In the same year the fort of Gwalior was also taken which was as Hasan Nizami says, "Pearl of the necklace of the castles of Hindustan".⁹⁰ After the neighbouring coun-

tries were conquered, Sultan Shihab-ud-din left for Ghazni, and Aibak also returned to ⁹¹Delhi.

After some times Aibak was informed that Natran Rajas i.e., the Rajputs were making preparations to wrest ⁹²Ajmer and were actively assisted by the Raja of Naharwala. Aibak, therefore, resolved to chastise them and one morning he fell upon them and kept up the conflict throughout ⁹³the day. The Rajputs fought bravely and killed some of the highly skilled generals. They also succeeded in inflicting a fatal wound on Aibak's horse, so that he fell down on the ground. It was with great difficulty that he mounted another horse and managed to escape from the ⁹⁴battlefield. His absence caused panic among his followers and encouraged the Rajputs to pursue them. The rebels shut Aibak within the walls of Ajmer and carried on hostilities for several months. ⁹⁵When Sultan Shihab-ud-din heard of his Viceroy's discomfiture, he immediately sent a strong force under the command of several ⁹⁶Amirs - Islam Khan, Asad-ud-din, Arsalan Khalj, Nasir-ud-din Hussain, Izz-ud-din Muid and Sharif-ud-din ⁹⁷Mohammad. Being thus reinforced, Aibak could fight again to take revenge and marched from Ajmer to Naharwal in 593 ⁹⁸A.H. When he reached ⁹⁹Dhotly and Bazul, he received the news that the Raja of Naharwala in alliance with other Rajput Rajas was collecting forces near the fort of Abugarh in the district of Saroni. ¹⁰⁰Aibak challenged them there and killing

some 50,000 soldiers of the enemies won a crowning victory
over them.¹⁰¹ Raja Bhim Deo of Naharwala(Gujrat) managed to
escape,¹⁰² but more than 20,000 soldiers, 20 elephants, cat-
tles and arms fell into the hands of the victorious army.¹⁰³
Aibak entrusted the conquered land to one of the Amirs and
via Ajmer returned to Delhi.¹⁰⁴ This victory took place in
593 A.H./ 1197 A.D.¹⁰⁵

Aibak as usual sent the report of the conquest of
Naharwala(Gujrat) to his sovereign- Sultan Shihab-ud-din,
and presented also the treasures and rarities obtained du-
ring the war. The Sultan received the gifts with due ack-
nowledgement of his services, honesty and sincerity.¹⁰⁶

From 593 A.H to 597 A.H.(1197-1201 A.D.) Aibak did
not attempt any conquest, for he was very busy with the mana-
gement of the newly conquered territories. However, in 599
A.H.(1202 A.D.) he renewed attacks and proceeded to invest
Kalinjar.¹⁰⁷ Iltutmish accompanied him on this expedition. The
Raja of Kalinjar offered resistance and it was after some
very serious battles that the fort of Kalinjar fell into the
hands of the victorious army. The plunder of Kalinjar was
great in gold and jewels.¹⁰⁸ Aibak now marched to Mahoba- the
Capital of Kalpi and subdued it together with Badaun.¹⁰⁹

Shortly afterwards Ikhtiyar-ud-din Moham-
mad Bakhtiyar Khilji, who made great conquests for Sult-
an Shihab-ud-din in eastern India, came to pay his res-
pects to Aibak. ¹¹⁰ Bakhtiar Khilji was the first Muslim to
plant the banner of Islam in the eastern part of India.
He was a native of Khalj. ¹¹¹ Hailing from Ghor and Gramsar, ¹¹²
he first came to Ghazni in search of suitable job. He
was not physically attractive. Being disappointed he left
Ghazni for ¹¹³ Delhi. But here, too, owing to his ugliness ¹¹⁴ he
could not attract the attention of the Malik and minis-
ters. Therefore, he went to Badaun and entered the ser-
vice of Sipahsalar Hazbar-ud-din ¹¹⁵ Hasan. He served him for
some times and then left for Oudh. ¹¹⁶ Malik Hisam-ud-din Ugh-
albak gave him a position in the army. Under his kind pat-
ronage, he collected some horses and weapons and rendered
useful services for his master who in return rewarded him
with the fiefs of Samut and ¹¹⁷ Sambhal. As he was brave and
energetic, he led his forces for great adventures towards
Bihar and within a short time collected ample resources in
the shape of horses, arms and ¹¹⁸ men. His fame spread abroad
and many adventurers of his tribe gathered round him to
assist him and make their fortunes. When the news of his
success reached Delhi, Aibak also appreciated his servi-
ces and despatched a robe of honour for him. ¹¹⁹ Thus encou-

raged he attempted to conquer Bihar. He first led sporadic raids for one or two years¹²⁰ to create panic and confusion among the people and obtained the desired result. For Sakya Shri Bhadra, a Buddhist scholar of Kashmir, visited South Bihar in 597 A.H./1200 A.D., and saw the Viharas of Odantapur and Vikramsala already ruined and others in course of destruction at the hands of the Turks, while their monks had fled from Bihar to Jagdal monastery in Bengal.¹²¹ Bakhtiyar Khilji then made a surprise attack on the walled city of Bihar and conquered it with only two hundred¹²² horsemen in 599 A.H./ 1202 A.D. Here immense booty fell into his hands, which included among others a large number of books. Hindus were summoned to give information respecting the contents of these books. On being acquainted with the contents, it was found that the fortress was a college and in the language of that place a college was¹²³ called Bihar, and hence the conquered territory was called Bihar. Following this success, Bakhtiyar Khilji, according to the 15th century Tibetan chronicler Taranath, conquered also the monastery towns of Vikramsila and¹²⁴ Nalanda and built a fortress on the site of Odantapur.

The conquest of Bihar synchronized with the conquest of Kalinjar. As soon as Aibak reached Badaun, Bakh-

tiyar Khilji went to meet him and presented twenty elephants and various kinds of ¹²⁵jewels. He was received with kindness and was exalted above the leaders of time. When he took his audience of leave, he was again empowered to make conquests for the glory of Islam and Sultan Shihab-¹²⁶ud-din. Besides, Aibak conferred upon him a tent, a naubat, a drum, a standard, a magnificent robe of honour, a horse, and trappings, a waist band, sword and a vest from private ward ¹²⁷robes.

On reaching Bihar, Bakhtiyar Khilji with fresh zeal continued his efforts to subjugate the rest of the ~~the~~ country and completed the conquest of Bihar as a whole in the same year i.e 599 A.H./ ¹²⁸1202 A.D. For his heroic performances Aibak invited him to ¹²⁹Delhi, so that he might display a special mark of his favour for him. Bakhtiyar Khilji's rising popularity and power, however, could not be appreciated by some of the Qutbi Amirs; they ultimately sought to disgrace him by secretly plotting against him. ¹³⁰Taking advantage of an opportunity when a rampant elephant was brought before Aibak for inspection, they unanimously said to the Viceroy that Bakhtiyar Khilji had a longing to ¹³¹fight with this elephant. Aibak wondered at this queer longing and in order to be sure that he was not playing into the hands of Bakhtiyar Khilji's enemies, he directly asked

him and Bakhtiyar Khilji did not deny this false boastful-
ness¹³² for the sake of his honour, though he knew that such
a game was nothing but a trap¹³³ to ensure his death. Conse-
quently he was subjected to the gladiatorial ordeal at Qasr-
e- Safed (White Palace) in Delhi. But Luckily Bakhtiyar-
Khilji triumphed over the animal and the ordeal proved for
him as the Gulzar-i-Khalil.¹³⁴ Henceforth, he became one of
the most renowned persons in the new domain of Sultan Shi -
hab-ud-din called Hind (Hindustan).

When Bakhtiyar Khilji gained that Signal distinc-
tion, Aibak bestowed upon him a rich robe of honour from
his special wardrobe and gave numerous presents.¹³⁵ Moreover,
he made him governor of Bihar and authorised him to conquer
Lakhnauti i.e Bengal.¹³⁶ Aibak likewise commanded the Amirs to
give him presents and he received innumerable gifts. But
imitating his benefactor, he distributed all these gifts
among the people and returned to Bihar with only the spe-
cial imperial honorary robe.¹³⁷

Next year, (i.e about 600-601 A.H./ 1203-1204
A.D.), Bakhtiyar Khilji conquered Bengal and made Lakhnauti
its Capital.¹³⁸ Rai Lakhmania of Bengal was told of this im-
pending disaster that his kingdom would be conquered by
the Turks.¹³⁹ When the news of the conquest of Bihar reached

him, his ministers suggested to shift to any safer place, but he refused to oblige them. On the contrary, he asked them on what authority they believed that Bakhtiyar Khilji would be the destroyer of his kingdom and the conqueror¹⁴⁰ of Bengal. He was then told by them that Bakhtiyar Khilji was the man possessing all the marks that was suggested by the astrologers at his (Rae's) birth. They reported to him that Bakhtiyar Khilji possessed such long hands that they¹⁴¹ would touch the calves of his feet, if he stood upright. This mark was registered in his birth's register. The Rae in order to be sure of this extraordinary prediction sent his men to have a close view of Bakhtiyar Khilji and describe his¹⁴² appearance. When his men certified that the conqueror of Bihar possessed all the physical peculiarities, many Brahmans and petty chiefs left for Saknat, Bang and¹⁴³ Kamrud. But the Rae did not appreciate their option for mig-¹⁴⁴ration and remained in his capital.

After the conquest of Bihar, Mohammad Bakhtiyar Khilji appeared in Nadia, the Rae's capital in the guise of a horse merchant till he reached the Palace of Rae Bakhman-¹⁴⁵ah and then made a surprise attack upon it with the help of only eighteen horsemen. The Rae was then enjoying his¹⁴⁶ food in the dishes of silver and gold. On receiving the

message of the siege of his palace, the Rae got confused,
 and left it bare-footed from the back door and escaped in
 a boat to Saknat and Bang.¹⁴⁷ The Rae's treasures, his wives,
 his domestic servants and particular attendants easily fell
 into the hands of Mohammad Bakhtiyar Khilji and such a vast
 amount of booty fell to his lot as can not be recorded.¹⁴⁸ In
 the meantime Mohammad Bakhtiyar Khilji's army reached
 there and facilitated the conquest of adjacent territories.¹⁴⁹
 Bakhtiyar Khilji stayed at Nadia for some time and then des-
 troyed it.¹⁵⁰ He selected Lakhnauti as the capital of Muslim
 Bengal, and brought all the adjacent land under his firm
 control.¹⁵¹ In every part he built mosques, madrasahs, khan-
 quas and his example was followed by his followers, whom he
 always liberally rewarded for their services. He despatch-
 ed a large portion of the booty obtained during his Lakh-
 nauti campaigns and the conquest of Bangala to Qutb-ud-din
 Aibak.¹⁵²¹⁵³¹⁵⁴

Mohammad Bakhtiyar Khilji was an ambitious man.
 Sometimes after the conquest of Bengal, he began to behave
 as an absolute ruler.¹⁵⁵ He, therefore, issued coins and in-
 troduced Khutba in his own name,¹⁵⁶ built a new capital and¹⁵⁷
 worked independently for the propagation of Islam so that
 within a short time Islam spread from Lakhnauti to China.¹⁵⁸

3762

Despite these, after the sack of Nadia, he began also to make preparation for another adventure and resolved to conquer Tibet and China.¹⁵⁹ But in this effort he unfortunately came to grief and ignomy. The peculiar physical condition of Tibet with high mountains, zigzag paths, tumultuous rivers shattered his design and his forces of ten thousand select cavalry only found watery grave in its river. It was with great difficulty that Bakhtiyar Khilji with only hundred (more or less) men returned to Deokot from where he had proceeded on this fatal expedition.¹⁶⁰ His ambition of conquering hitherto unknown lands only involved him into a worst kind of disaster. His misfortunes did not come to an end at Deokot. On his way to Lakhnauti at every stage women and children of the slaughtered and drowned soldiers abused and cursed him.¹⁶¹ The shock and humiliation was so great that Bakhtiyar Khilji could not endure them and fell seriously ill and eventually died in 602¹⁶² A.H./ 1205 A.D. During his illness he was often heard saying, "Perhaps Sultan Ghazi Muiz-ud-din-wal-dunia has been involved into some tragedy that is why misfortune has accompanied me".¹⁶³ And that was the case no doubt.

Mohammad Bakhtiyar Khilji's death has been ascribed to some other causes as well.¹⁶⁴ Some say that he died out of grief, while others say that Alimardan, an officer of Bakhtiyar

Khilji, reached Deokot soon after the news of disaster¹⁶⁵ reached him and treacherously murdered him. He was famous for his heroism, frankness and fearlessness. Eversince his master reached Deokot, no person had the courage to enter his apartment for three days, though he knew that¹⁶⁶ the Khilji Chief was seriously ill. Ali Mardan some how managed to go near him alone and removing the sheet from his face slew him with a short knife. He then raised the standard of sovereignty over Lakhnauti.¹⁶⁷

Eversince Qutb-ud-din Aibak left Badaun for Delhi, he seems to be engaged in consolidating his power rather than making fresh conquests. Perhaps Bakhtiyar Khilji's astonishing victories in the eastern part of Hindustan influenced his foreign policy. ~~Kakawka~~ Sultan Shihabud-din also did not aspire to make conquest in Hindustan, for ever-since he came back to Ghazni after the conquest of Banaras and Kannauj, he remained entangled in Central Asian problems, which did not give him any respite to think of extending his Indian dominion. However, after an interval, his defeat at Andkhud produced some repercussions on Indian politics as well. The news of his defeat incited a general rising among the turbulent tribes inhabiting the western provinces of his Indian empire. Aibak received a message from the Sultan, which

informed him about the Khokars' rebellion that had broken out¹⁶⁸
 soon after his hasty retreat from the Capital of the Shah
 of Khwarizm in 600 A.H./1203 A.D.¹⁶⁹ These rebellious Khokars
 belonged to one of the most primitive tribes of Hindustan.
 They lived in the mountains between Ghazni and Punjab. Ac-
 cording to some others, they inhabited the country along
 the bank of Nilab upto the foot of the Swalik hills.¹⁷⁰ They
 constituted a race of wild and barbarious persons having
 no sense of civilized manners. Religion and morality were
 unknown to them.¹⁷¹ They had created troubles for Sultan Mah-
 mud of Ghazni by rendering assistance to Raja Anand Pal in
 399¹⁷² A.H./1008 A.D., but owing to the occupation of impor-
 tant territories and the accidental flight of the Raja's
 elephant from the battlefield Sultan Mahmud easily defeated
 the Raja and chastised his associates.¹⁷³ It was after more
 than one hundred and fifty years that the Khokars again be-
 came active and began to give troubles to the Muslims. In
 581 A.H./1185 A.D., they rendered help to Khusrau Malik of
 Lahore against Sultan Shihab-ud-din.¹⁷⁴ Khusrau's defeat and
 death, however, did not crush them, and they waited for an
 opportunity to assert their existence and preserve their
 identity.

After the battle of Andkhod, which Sultan Shihab-
 ud-din lost to the Shah of Khwarizm in 600¹⁷⁵ A.H. Albak Bak, one

of the most confidential servants of Sultan Shihab-ud-din fled from the battle-field and reached Multan to exploit¹⁷⁵ the situation to his own benefits. He reported to Amir Dad Hasan, the governor of Multan, that the Sultan had been slain in the battle and that he took the earliest opportunity to flee for his own life and report the matter to him.¹⁷⁶ He then taking advantage of a private meeting with the governor murdered him and declared himself as an independent ruler of Multan.¹⁷⁷ But very soon his treachery was discovered and the news spread throughout the far and near countries of Hind and Sind. Nevertheless, the Khokars did not believe in the contradictory report and thought that the Sultan was really dead, otherwise Aibak Bak would not have become so bold as to declare himself an independent ruler. Consequently, they, too, commenced hostilities against their traditional foe, i.e. the Mohammadans, under the leadership of Bakan and Sarka and carried on constant raids between Sodra and Jhelum. They aspired also to create an independent state for¹⁷⁸ themselves.

When the news of the Khokars' menace reached Sultan Shihab-ud-din, he immediately proceeded to chastise them and at the same time sent a message to Qutb-ud-din Aibak¹⁷⁹ in order to inform him about his scheme of punitive expedition against the rebels. Following the royal command Qutb-ud-din Aibak attacked the Khokars from the east, while

¹⁸⁰
 the Sultan engaged them from the west. The imperial forces
 gained additional strength when Iltutmish, ¹⁸¹Qutb-ud-din's
 slave, joined them with his forces from Badaun. The Khokars
 suffered a crushing defeat and were again subjected to com-
 plete annihilation. Lahore again passed into the hands of
¹⁸²imperial army. One of the sons of Khokar Rae fled from the
 battle-field, and took shelter in the fort of Jud. But he
¹⁸³was chased and the fort was captured by the imperial forces.
 The Rae presented himself like a slave before the Sultan, who
 took pity upon him and greatly honoured him with the titles
¹⁸⁴and gifts, when he willingly accepted Islam. Following the
 example of their chief a large number of Khokars also became
 Muslims and their example provided an incentive for other
 tribes to embrace Islam so that within a very short time se-
 veral hundreds of Khokars and their allied tribes accepted
¹⁸⁵Islam and were enrolled as Muslims. Sultan Shihab-ud-din
 highly appreciated the services of his Viceroy (Qutb-ud-din),
 and of Malik Iltutmish and bestowed upon them lavish gifts.
¹⁸⁶He declared Qutb-ud-din Aibak as his heir in Hindustan. In
 addition to his fief, he was given the territories lying
 between Peshawar and Hind and entrusted the government of
 his entire Indian dominion to his charge.
¹⁸⁷

After the suppression of the Khokars' rebellion
 Qutb-ud-din Aibak took his audience of leave and returned

to Delhi, while the Sultan decided to stay at Lahore.¹⁸⁸

Having settled the affairs of Hindustan Sultan Shihab-ud-din marched in the year 602 A.H./ 1205 A.D..from Lahore to Ghazni and fixed his camp within the borders of Dhamak.¹⁸⁹ While the Sultan was offering his evening prayers in the camp some Khokars came there and on the spot killed three armed attendants and two chamber sweepers.¹⁹⁰ They then put him to death on 3rd Shaban 602 A.H./¹⁹¹ 15th March 1206 A.D. His body was carried to Ghazni and buried there on 22nd Shawwal of the same year.¹⁹²

(B). QUTB-UD-DIN AIBAK — THE FIRST MUSLIM EMPEROR OF HINDUSTAN.

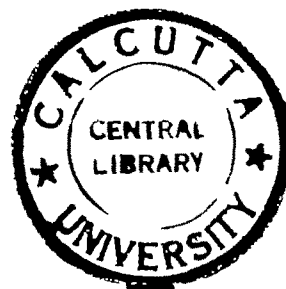
Sultan Shihab-ud-din left no male heir, but the problem of his successor, which at first appeared as a Gordian knot during his life time, was somehow solved by his faithful servants, who took clue from their master's accidental statements such as "They (my slaves) will rule my kingdom after I'm dead and gone!" Of-course, Sultan Shihab-ud-din was not careless with regard to the problem of his successor. For oft he repeated the reply when asked on this question, "Monarchs may have one or two sons, I have so many thousands sons, namely my Turkish slaves, who will be heir

of my dominion and also after me, will take care to preserve my name in the Khutba throughout those territories".¹⁹³ Indeed, if he had no sons, he had his nephews and cousins, but he preferred his slaves to his kinsmen. Such a decision was in recognition of their merits, loyalty and services. He had¹⁹⁴ three most outstanding slaves—Taj-ud-din Yalduz, Nasir-ud-din Qubacha, and Qutb-ud-din Aibak. And their sphere of influence over his conquered territories was specified~~by him~~ during his own life-time. Yalduz was to be his successor in Ghazni and in order to strengthen his position he consented to the marriage of Yalduz's daughter¹⁹⁵ with Qubacha and Qutb-ud-din Aibak. Qubacha was already acting as his nominee in Multan and the town of Uchcha was assigned to him when Sultan Shihab-ud-din reached his Capital safely after the battle of Andkhod.¹⁹⁶ Qutb-ud-din Aibak was serving the Sultan in the capacity of his Viceroy in Hindustan and after his victory over the Khokars in 1205 A.D., the Sultan had even declared Qutb-ud-din Aibak as his heir-apparent to his Indian¹⁹⁷ dominion.

Consequently Qutb-ud-din Aibak became his virtual successor in India to rule over a territory that extended from Bluchistan to Bengal and included almost the whole of northern India. But Qutb-ud-din Aibak did not immediately declare himself to be its first ruler, though no

serious opposition thwarted his position. The reasons are both sentimental and political. The news of Sultan Shihab-ud-din's death greatly shocked him. He, therefore, continued to serve as before for sometimes in the capacity of his Viceroy with the avowed intention of expressing his deep regards for his great patron and honouring his royal behest. Besides, the traitor Aibak Bak's memory was fresh in his mind and he did not like to discredit his long brilliant career and destroy his image as the most loyal and favourite slave of the Sultan soon after his sudden demise. That he never entertained any treacherous design against his sovereign can well be realised from the fact that he regularly reported about his victories and submitted the vast booty obtained during his expeditions and never requested for his manumission, which he himself granted to his slave Iltutmish at the request of Sultan Shihab-ud-din after his heroic performances during the Khokars' war. That he dearly loved his sovereign can be ascertained from the fact that he did not assume any high sounding royal title on becoming king and remained satisfied with the familiar title of Qutb-ud-din that was conferred upon him by Sultan Shihab-ud-din while he was acting as his Viceroy in India.

The political considerations, too, necessitated



that Qutb-ud-din Aibak should not declare himself a de-facto sovereign. First, he was still a slave and according to Muslim law no slave was entitled to sit on the throne unless he obtained his freedom. Secondly, Sultan Shihab-ud-din's death had plunged his empire into the vortex of uncertainty about its future. Soon after his assassination power-struggle had commenced between his relations and the slaves. Taj-ud-din Yalduz aspired to get for himself the general recognition as the successor of Sultan Shihab-ud-din, but he could not secure popular support for his cause,²⁰⁰ and ultimately Sultan Shihab-ud-din's nephew Ghiyas-ud-din Mahmud sat on the throne.²⁰¹ The new monarch, soon after his accession, issued royal firmans to his imperial army that they must acknowledge Taj-ud-din Yalduz, Nasir-ud-din Qubacha and Qutb-ud-din Aibak as the rulers of Ghazni, Multan and Hind respectively.²⁰² At the same time he forwarded to these favourite slaves of Sultan Shihab-ud-din formal letters releasing them from the bondage of slavery and conferred upon him the title of "SULTAN".²⁰³

Taj-ud-din Yalduz, therefore, crowned himself at Ghazni and Qubacha did so in Multan. Qutb-ud-din Aibak also accepted the fait accompli. But he did not follow the example of the former two slaves and postponed his coronation for an indefinite period, for he was aware that am-

bitious Taj-ud-din Yalduz, after his failure at Ghor, might direct his forces to usurp the throne of Delhi, or at least to forcibly occupy Lahore(Punjab). He anxiously watched the political developments that were taking place on north-western frontiers and endeavoured to create a favourable party of strong supporters for himself. Accordingly, he proceeded to Lahore, though officially it was known that his visit to the Capital of Punjab was in pursuance of a previous programme to receive personally the auspicious mandate granted by Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din.²⁰⁴

Qutb-ud-din Aibak's doubts were confirmed when Taj-ud-din Yalduz occupied Lahore through the treachery of his governor, whom he afterwards expelled. Qutb-ud-din, therefore, immediately reached Lahore on Tuesday, 11th Zulqidah 602 A.H./ 17th June, 1206 A.D., and there the entire population—nobles, army, men of letters, rich and poor, young and old—extended an exceptionally warm welcome to him. Thus emboldened he disputed his right and a war ensued between the two chiefs.²⁰⁵ Qutb-ud-din Aibak now realised the gravity of the situation owing to his hesitation in wearing the Crown and decided to behave as a king with dignity. His coronation took place in Qasr-e-Humayun at Lahore on Tuesday, the 18th of the month of Zilqadah 602 A.H./²⁰⁶ 26th June, 1206 A.D., i.e. three months²⁰⁷

after the death of Sultan Shihab-ud-din.

The circumstances leading to the enthronement of Qutb-ud-din Aibak were really very strange, but still more striking is the fact that this favourite child of Fortune is not recognised by some writers as a ruler and hence they do not include his name among the Muslim sovereigns of Hindustan. They withhold the recognition on the following grounds:

1. No silver or gold coin of Qutb-ud-din Aibak has come down to posterity;
2. No higher title than Malik or Sipahsalar can be perceived in his inscription associated with his name;
3. His name as a ruler has not been included in the Khutba.²⁰⁸

Superficially viewed, these reasons seem to justify the act of those critics who deny to confer the title of a king on Qutb-ud-din Aibak, for out of these four essential prerogatives of a Muslim king, three do not seem to have been enjoyed by him. But in the light of modern researches such a view can not be accepted and Qutb-ud-din Aibak virtually shines forth as the first Emperor of Hindustan.

For the last two centuries, it will be noticed,

a small portion of northern India was looked upon by the rulers of Ghazni as their colony, but they never gave their serious attention to it and regarded it as a hunting ground or as a milch cow to provide wealth and riches to fulfil their ~~their~~ ends in their own country. ²⁰⁹ Qutb-ud-din Aibak was the first conqueror who changed his attitude towards India. He made this country his permanent home and never for once felt home-sick or desired to leave it after acquiring untold riches. His long stay in India as a general and Viceroy of Sultan Shihab-ud-din had developed in him a particular love and interest for Hindustan. In this dual capacity he made conquests and at the same time resorted to administrative art to consolidate his possessions and keep under his firm control the ever expanding Muslim empire. He also built mosques and madrasahs, forts and palatial buildings to proclaim the glory of Islam and commemorate the conquests, selected Delhi as the capital of the newly founded Muslim empire in Hindustan and beautified it, ~~he~~ issued coins bearing the name of his sovereign and received the governors and dependents. In other words, he could enjoy a sovereign's powers without being a sovereign and of-course, if desired, he would have then easily usurped the throne and declared himself an independent ruler. But his loyalty for his sovereign applied a check to his ambition so much so that even after the death

of Sultan Shihab-ud-din he did not like to behave as a king. However, when the circumstances forced him he put on the Crown. No doubt, as a Viceroy he immensely contributed to the enrichment of the royal cofferⁱⁿ Ghazni, but his services have both the negative and positive aspects for India. Wealth of India flowed into the Ghorian empire, but India did not suffer miserably on that account. Qutb-ud-din Aibak's services heralded in this country the dawn²¹⁰ of a new era of national unity, economic prosperity and religious toleration.

"Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak was a ruler de facto and de jure"

The following reasons will reveal the truth of this statement:-

(1) The contemporary writers always prefix the title of Sultan to Qutb-ud-din Aibak's name.²¹¹

(2) Hasan Nizami, the contemporary writer clearly writes, "the public prayers and coinage of Dinars and Dirhams throughout the whole country full of rivers received honour and embellishment from his name and royal titles and Lahore, where the throne of the Sultans had been established and which was the altar of the good and pious²¹² became the Capital".

(3) Fakhr-ud-din Mubarak Shah, the great historian of the 13th century, was even present at the time of Qutb-ud-din Aibak's coronation²¹³ at Lahore.

(4) Next to coronation, Qutb-ud-din Aibak assumed royal titles, though not in the traditional manner having the characteristic of verbosity. This is quite evident from an inscription discovered on a wall²¹⁴ of a mosque in Palwal, which reads as follows:

بيت هذه العمارت في ايام دولت الملك العادل المعظم شهباز والا عظم، ملك وقاب الامم سيد الترك
 ونجم قطب الحق والدين عر كن الاسوم والمسلمين، مقرر الملوك والسلاطين على الدولة
 معين الخلافة ابو الفوارس ايبك نصير امير المؤمنين الاسفندار الاجل الملك المويده الله
 الجاه
 الامير الدولة نصير الاسوم والمسلمين ونصرة الملوك والسلاطين شرف الامراء وكهف
 الفقراء و ارام الله علوة في شهر المبارك نعيم الله امره سنة سبع وتسماية

Trans:

The edifice was erected during the reign of the just and great king, the lord of the neck of people, the master of the kings, of the Turks and Persians, Qutb-ul-Haq-wad-Din, the Pillar of Islam and Musalmans, the glory of the kings and monarchs, the exalted in the State, the splendour of religion, the right hand of Khalifa, Abul Fawaris Aibak, the helper of the commander of the Faithful, the glorious Commander-in-chief, the king who is assisted by God, the fighter for the cause of State and Religion, Helper of Islam and of Muslims, the support of the kings and monarchs, the honour of the nobles, the shelter of the poor. May God glorify the order. Year six hundred and seven".

On the issue of coins, of-course, we have to conjecture in the absence of any silver or gold coin bearing the name of Qutb-ud-din Aibak. For upto now none of his coins has been discovered except a few copper coins. But the absence of his silver or gold coins can not disqualify him from being recognised as a king. If his name does not appear on coins, it was in deference to his sovereign's testament or due to his simplicity which was his chief attribute. Or it may be ascribed to his zeal to imitate his sovereign (Sultan Shihab-ud-din), who did not issue coins in his own name soon after he made conquests in India. The Numismatic Society of India has so far rendered unique service by bringing into light many untouched and rare coins, which has facilitated the work of historians in coordinating historical facts or in solving disputed problems. Qutb-ud-din Aibak's coins will also come into light for which Hasan Nizami, the celebrated contemporary writer, has unmistakably written in his Taj-ul-Masir.

(V) Of Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak's inscriptions, some have come into light, as for example, on the mosque in Palwal. Previous example might be cited from Qutb-Minar, and the Quwat-ul-Islam. These inscriptions unmistakably betray his chief quality—Simplicity. From these he seems

to be devoid of a boaster's long talks and he never indulges into self glorification. But they, especially that from the Palwal mosque, fully confirm his status as a Sultan.²¹⁷ His inscriptions set the model for Sultan ~~Shams-ud-din~~²¹⁸ Iltutmish, who utilized his prerogative to a great extent.

(vi) Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak had formulated a definite idea of Kingship, which might be attributed to his experiences in statecraft during the period when he was acting as a Viceroy. For it was in pursuance of this ideal of kingship that he celebrated his coronation, fixed his capital, made his empire independent of the Ghorian rule and attempted to preserve its independence, built a magnificent palace, known as Qasr-e-Safed (White Palace), issued firmans under his royal seal, received tributes from his dependents, maintained a well equipped army and kept the supreme authority in his own hands in the triple capacity as the executive head of the State, Chief Justice and Commander-in-Chief.

(vii) Soon after his accession, Ikhtiyar-ud-din Mohammad Bakhtiyar Khilji's assassin Ali Mardan tried to behave as an autocrat having no connection with the Sultan of Delhi. Imperial army, therefore, proceeded against him and avenged the murder of Ikhtiyar-ud-din Mohammad Bakhtiyar Khilji. Thereafter Ghiyas-ud-din Khilji was nominated as governor of Bengal who remained loyal to Sultan Qutb-ud-din

Aibak till his ²¹⁹ death.

(viii) Though Taj-ud-din Yalduz Challenged Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak's authority, Nasir-ud-din Qubacha gave him due recognition by maintaining friendly relation with him .
²²⁰

(ix) Hasan Nizami clearly describes the event taking place after Qutb-ud-din Aibak's coronation:

"For the consolation and satisfaction of the distant provinces mandates were issued to the different quarters of both sea and land and the nobles and dependents of the country came forward to offer him their allegiance and the carpet of his audience chamber was kissed by the Rajas of Hind and Khusras of Chin."
²²¹

(x) Fakhr-e-Mudabbir also leaves us in no doubt when he writes:

222

این مملکت را چنان فیر کرد بران جمله قاصده و اسیر
نهاده که گوئی همیشه بادشاهی کردستی و مملکت کرده

Trans:

He kept the empire under his firm control.....
Moreover, he made rules and regulations and laid such foundation as if he had ever governed and ruled.

Besides, these contemporary evidences, Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din's letter-patent conferring upon him the title of

Sultan is more than enough to convince any person that Qutb-ud-din Aibak enjoyed the status of a Sultan. Minhaj and the other contemporary writers have duly mentioned this formal recognition granted to Sultan Shihab-ud-din's ²²³ Viceroy in Hindustan.

Not only the contemporary writers, but also numerous latter chroniclers have acknowledged the fact that Qutb-ud-din Aibak acquired the position of a ruler too. For example:

224 بفرمان آن شاه فیروز تخت بلاچور ایک برآمد به تخت

Trans:

According to the Farman of that victorious monarch (Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din), Aibak came to the throne in Lahore.

225 بعد از شهادت سلطان معزالدین، سلطان غیاث الدین محمود..... به تخت ملک قلع الدین چتر و امارت بادشاهی فرستاد، بخطاب سلطان معزالدین گردانید و روز سه شنبه هفتم ماه ذی القعدة سنه اثنین و ستمایه در قصر لاهور جلوس فرمود -

Trans:

After the martyrdom of Sultan Muiz-ud-din, Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Mahmud.....sent for him a canopy of state and was honoured with the title of SULTAN. He ascended the throne in the Lahore-Palace on Tuesday, 18th Zilquadah 602 A.H.

226 بعد از شهادت سلطان معزالدین، سلطان غیاث الدین محمود که خلف صدق سلطان غیاث الدین محمد است از فیروز کون به تخت ملک قلع الدین چتر و امارت بادشاهی فرستاد و خطاب سلطان معزالدین گردانید و روز سه شنبه هفتم ماه ذی القعدة سنه مذکور بر تخت سلطنت جلوس فرمود -

Trans:

.....Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Mahmud.....sent for him from Feroze Koh a canopy of state for Malik Qutb-ud-din Aibak and addressed to him as Sultan. In 602 A.H., he left Delhi for Lahore and there he ascended the throne on Tuesday, 18th of the month of Zilquadah.

227

سلطان غیاث الدین محمود از فیروز کوه بجهت ملک قطب الدین ایبک چتر و امارت پادشاهی فرستاده بخلاف خطاب سلطان ساخت و در سنه اثنی و ستمایه (۶۰۲) از دهلی لاہور آمد و در روز سہ شنبہ ہندویم ماہ ذیقعد سنہ مذکور بہ تخت سلطنت جلوس فرمود۔

Trans:

Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Mahmud ...sent for Malik Qutb-ud-din Aibak a canopy of state from Feroze Koh and addressed to him as Sultan. In 602 A.H., he reached Lahore from Delhi; and on Tuesday 18th Zilquadah of the same year ascended the throne of an empire.

228

سلطان محمود بن سلطان غیاث الدین بہ تخت خود جلوس کرد۔ بجهت سلطان قطب الدین ایبک کہ تا آن زمان بہ خطاب ملک الدین ایبک میگفتند چتر و امارت پادشاهی و خطاب سلطانی و خط آزادی روانہ شد کرد و سلطان قطب الدین ایبک بہ رسم استقبال لاہور رفت و آنجہ سلطان محمود بن غیاث الدین فرستاده بود۔ بوصول آن ہندویم بپاہی گشت و در سہ شنبہ ہندویم ماہ ذیقعد سنہ اثنی و ستمایہ (۶۰۲) بہ تخت لاہور جلوس فرمود۔

Trans:

Sultan Mahmud, son of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din..... sent for Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak, who was upto now called Malik Qutb-ud-din Aibak, a canopy of state and the title of Sultan....And Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak went to Lahore to receive them.....and there he ascended the throne on 18th Zilquadah, 602 A.H.

229 بعد از شهادت سلطان شهاب الدین برادرزاده او سلطان غیاث الدین محمود که پس از رحلت پدر خویشی بر تخت غور جلوس گرج بود بجهت قتل الدین که تا آن زمان ملک ملقبه جترو امارت پادشاهی و قطب الدین فقط آزادی روانه شده کرد - که قطب الدین به رسم استقبال بلاپورننه آنچه سلطان غور فرستاده بود بموصول آن معزز و میاجی گشت و روز شنبه به سیمه هم دی القه سه اثن و ستمای بر تخت لاهور جلوس فرمود

Trans:

Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Mahmud, who after the death of his father ascended the throne of Ghor, sent for Qutb-ud-din Aibak, who was called upto now Malik, a canopy of state, the title of SULTAN and a letter granting independence. Malik Qutb-ud-din Aibak went to Lahore to receive all these sent by the Sultan of Ghor and acquired honour on receipt of them. On Tuesday, 18th Zilqadah 602 A.H., he ascended the throne in Lahore .

230

چون سلطان شهاب الدین غوری قطب الدین ایبک را در صلی بنام تمام خود ساخته عازم ولایت خراسان شد و خبر وی به قطب الدین ایبک رسید، لوائی سلطنت با استقلال برانراشته خطبه بنام خود خواند و او را سلطان قطب الدین نامیده و زمام فرمانروائی هند و سند بید اختیار و تهنه اقتدار او در آمد

Trans:

When Sultan Shihab-ud-din went to Khurasan after appointing Qutb-ud-din Aibak as his Viceroy and Qutb-ud-din Aibak received the news of his death, he raised the imperial flag with determination and Khutba was read in his name. And he was called Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak. And the reins of the government of Hind and Sind came into his hand.

231 چون نوبت بغیاث الدین محمود بن سام رسید، لقب سلطانی و جترو لوی ارزانی داشت و لوائی بامر حکومت قیام نمود .

Trans:

When Ghiyas-ud-din Mahmud bin Sam ascended the throne he conferred upon (Aibak) the title of SULTAN and presented a canopy of state. And after the issue of the government's order remained in that position for some time.

232

... بعد از شهادت سلطان غیاث الدین بن سلطان غیاث الدین محمود که سلطنت یافت و او را در لاهور جلوس کرد و بجهت قتل جترو امارت پادشاهی فرستاده و قطب الدین را بامر حکومت قیام نمود

[illegible]

Trans:

After the martyrdom of Sultan Muiz-ud-din, Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Mahmud son of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Mohammadsent for Qutb-ud-din Aibak a canopy of state and addressed to him as SULTAN. He sat on the throne of the empire in Lahore.

In view of so many concrete evidences,²³³ Qutb-ud-din Aibak can not be denied the status of a king and deserves to be recognised as the first Sultan-e-Hind or the first emperor of Hindustan.

By a curious turn of Fortune, Qutb-ud-din Aibak, was, no doubt, enabled to acquire the rare honour of being the first emperor of Hindustan, but he was not destined to rule for a long time. His brilliant career came to an end after four years. Although numerous achievements illumined his life while he acted as the Viceroy of Sultan Shihab-ud-din, within this short time, too, when he acted as a Sultan he made such lasting impressions that they have immortalised him giving him an exalted position in the galaxy of Indian emperors.

As a ruler, Qutb-ud-din Aibak's most significant achievement was that he transformed the Indian colony of Ghor into an independent empire, which extended from Sind in the west to Bengal in the east, comprising the whole of northern India.

Fortunately for Qutb-ud-din Aibak this vast em-

pire came into being at a time when the Muslim civilization had crystalized and achieved perfection influencing the different parts of the globe. An experienced administrator, Qutb-ud-din Aibak adopted the prevalent Muslim political theories and put them into force in the light of changed circumstances in his Saltanat as before. He could not claim to have established a new system, but he blessed the new empire with a stable government, internal peace, and prosperity and external security so that his fame spread far and wide and he was regarded as an able, just and powerful ruler.²³⁴

A political realist, Qutb-ud-din Aibak paid his attention not only to the political problems of his empire but also to others—social, religious and economics. "By his order, the precept of Islam received prolongation", writes Hasan Nizami, "and the sun of righteousness cast its shadow on the countries of Hind from the heaven of God's assistance—happy result of the King's mercy and justice".²³⁵

Like the Caliphs, whom he recognised as the spiritual head of the Muslim world, Qutb-ud-din Aibak did his best to uphold and carry the banner of Islam as far as possible and showed respect to the pious and religious persons. Hasan Nizami speaks again and again of his love for

these men, but there is no reference in his pages that the Ulemas interfered in politics during his reign or his policies were coloured by religion. The cardinal principle of his government was Justice, and therefore religion could not mix with politics. It was by virtue of this principle that not a single Muslim was killed by him without any just cause and he gave orders that no person should suffer death or even punishment without a fair trial. For his Justice Qutb-ud-din Aibak endeared himself to his people and it was said that during his reign, "the wolf and the sheep drank water out of the same pond".

Qutb-ud-din Aibak possessed the attributes of a liberal monarch. His generosity earned for him the title of Hatim-e-Sani (Hatim the Second) and Lakh Bakhsh, (Giver of Lakhs of silver and gold coins). Fakhr-e-Mudabbir speaking highly of him writes; "It was Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak who laid the rule of giving lakhs of coins in gold and silver to the deserving candidates as presents. No history or paper or story has ever mentioned about such generocity and liberality".

And the court-poet Imam Malik-ul-Kalam Baha-ud-din Ushi thus sings in praise of his monarch:

۱۷ بنشش توک: بهان آورد * کان راکف تو کار جیا آورد 242
 نه رشاکف تو خون گنیه دل کن * بس لعل بهانه دریا آورد

Trans: The Sultan's bounty scattering gifts of lacs
Has of the mines their precious treasure cleared
The earth bleeds, envious of his generous hands,
And therefore with in it ruby has appeared.

Qutb-ud-din Aibak was a great patron of learned men. A number of eminent writers including Fakhre Mudabbir and Hasan Nizami contributed to the splendour of the imperial court. Both these writers dedicated their works to him.²⁴³

To this monarch also goes the credit of laying the foundation of a Darul Khilafat (Capital) of the newly established Muslim empire. Delhi acquired the signal distinction.²⁴⁴ He not only founded the Capital at Delhi, but also beautified it. He was first to realise the strategic position of this city which eventually gave currency to the maxim—"He , who holds Delhi, holds India".²⁴⁵

Qutb-ud-din Aibak was also first to realise the necessity of founding cities on trade-routes and guard the frontiers of his empire by a chain of impregnable fortresses.²⁴⁶

His first architectural achievement, however,²⁴⁷ was the Quwwat-ul-Islam Mosque. This mosque, which is the first example of Muslim archaeological art, was built soon

after the conquest of Delhi in 588 A.H./1192 A.D., and it remained the principal mosque of the Sultans for about 37 years and each Sultan enlarged and beautified it according to his own taste and means.²⁴⁸

Qutb-ud-din Aibak's first attempt—the Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque, was a new type of building in India, but it was no more than a temple divested of Hindu features. For the mosque was constructed in hurry and the old temple was so demolished as to serve the purpose of the conqueror. It is recorded that materials of twenty seven temples were utilized to complete the structure making it one of the biggest and most impressive on the surface of earth. It was certainly not something entirely original, but when an arched screen across the western side of the enclosure was added to it in 596 A.H., 1199 A.D., an entirely original example of Islamic art came into view.²⁴⁹

Another mosque of historical significance left by Qutb-ud-din Aibak was Arhai-din ka Jhompra. It was built in Ajmer after the city was captured and on the ground, where from ancient times a Mela was held; hence it drew its strange name Arhai din ka Jhompra (i.e a hut of two and a half days). It is still in a fairly good condition and may be seen by any visitor to the Shrine of Khwa-²⁵⁰

ja Muin-ud-din Chishti, for it is only at a distance of a few yards from the shrine of the Saint.

Qasr-e-Safed or White Palace was also built²⁵¹ by Qutb-ud-din Aibak. It is first of its kind in India. It was built in the Qila of Rai Pithora in 602²⁵² A.H./1206 A.D. Here six of his successors were enthroned.²⁵³ This palace was also known as "Daulat Khana".²⁵⁴ Notwithstanding the fury and ravages of time, it survived till 19th century, and gave currency to its name²⁵⁵ for every house and this special term "Daulat Khana" is still in common use in India and at once recalls to mind the oldest royal residence in medieval India.

Near the Quwwat-ul-Islam Mosque stands the Qutb Minar—²⁵⁶THE WONDER OF THE WORLD. Its origin, its name, and its use have been discussed again and again and various opinions have been expressed. But keeping in mind the religious sentiments of Qutb-ud-din Aibak and his deep love for his master, Sultan Shihab-ud-din, it may be safely concluded that the celebrated Minar owes its origin definitely to the comprehensive plan of Qutb-ud-din Aibak, which aimed at reproducing the grandeur of the eastern capitals in Delhi. In laying the foundation of Qutb Minar, Qutb-ud-din Aibak seems to have three fixed

aims in view.

First, it must serve as a high tower for the imperial mosque from where the Muazzan's presence and call for prayer might indicate daily the exact hours for the five times prayer enjoined on the Muslims according to their holy law. A detached tower was then not unknown and there are very early examples of Sammara in Mesopotamia (848-52 A.D.). Qutb-ud-din Aibak undertook the construction of the Minar for the convenience of the Namazis as well as for the allurement of the heathens to bring them within the fold of Islam. Mosques in general continued to be deficient in minarets till the advent of the Mughal Period. Qutb-ud-din Aibak was first to visualize the utility of a minaret.

Secondly, Qutb Minar must proclaim the coming of a new era in India — the spread of Islam and the establishment of the Muslim empire. A tower of victory was also certainly not unknown in those days. It is noteworthy that practically at the same time another Muslim ruler Yusuf(1) was constructing at Selville in Spain another tower, higher than Qutb Minar, the well known Giralda. In laying the foundation of Qutb Minar, Qutb-ud-din Aibak only followed a tradition established by former Mus-

lim conquerors in the East.

Thirdly, Qutb-ud-din Aibak well hoped that Qutb Minar would be an eternal memorial to perpetuate his memory and that of his master. This motive is quite evident from its inscriptions and the order in which the names have been arranged.

Some writers are prone to ascribe Qutb Minar's origin to Hindu Period. One of them informs that the Minaret was built by Rai Pithora for his beloved Sanygta. Another writes with conviction, "Whoever the original author was, there is no doubt, we think on architectural grounds that the present Minar is an old Kirtisthamba converted into a Mohammadan Minar". He justifies his statement by reproducing the views of Mr. Kanwar Sen and concludes by saying:

"We may lastly point out that the practice of raising Kirtisthamba is very old in India (vide Raghu canto xii verse) and we find it in a Sena inscription that Lakhshman Sena raised three Kirtisthambas in Allahabad, Benaras, and Jaganath. It is probable that this Kirtisthamba upto the first storey was built by Visaladeva Chauhan whose conquest of the whole of northern India and whose driving out of Malechhas from Aryavarta and making it real Aryavarta..... was memorable, and is commemorated on the Swalik Pillar of Delhi. It is possible that Visala after his arduous conquest of Delhi.... raised a column of victory in the Lalkot of Anangapala. Visala is nearly contemporaneous with Lakhshman Sena and both were emperors, the first was in the west and the second in the east of northern India. The latter is recorded, as stated above, to have raised victory pillars, and it is possible to hold that Visala raised a column at

Delhi.

.....Visala built the college at Ajmer which was converted by the order of Shihab-ud-din into the present mosque (called Adhai - Dinki - Jhopadi); Visala's inclination to build memorable structures is thus apparent. It is likely, however, that a Kirtisthamba remained at the finishing of the first storey as he died soon after his conquest. His successor Prithiviraja II had also a short reign as also Samasvara. Perhaps they might have continued the building even in the days of Prithiviraja III. After the conquest of Delhi by Kutubuddin, he built a mosque by throwing down temples and utilizing their columns. It is natural that he should convert the Kirtisthamba of Visala into a Mohammedan Minar and Altmash built the third and fourth storeys and completed it." 258

But these are fantastic opinions and misrepresentation of facts. For Qutb Minar reveals its history itself through its inscriptions on the five storeys. Its foundation was laid by Qutb-ud-din Aibak in 596 A.H./ 1199 A.D., while he was a Viceroy and it was completed by Sultan Iltutmish. 259

There is no proof of its Hindu origin. 260 Mr. Sharp says, "Nothing Hindu architecture resembles this particular tower, but the general form and the variety of its five storeys (one ornamented with alternate round and angular fluting, the next with round, the next with angular, the next plain, and the last with only a moulded course) are open reminiscent of the pillars of victory with star-like base and round upper portion broken by a broad ornamented band, which stand on the plain of Ghazni". 261

And of-course, in the light of critical study of Qutb Minar, the theory of its Hindu origin definitely deserves to be rejected.

As regards its name, some writers opine that af-

After the death of the celebrated saint Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki, who was buried near the Minar, it gradually became known as Qutb Minar. And it was Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish who first named the Minaret after the saint whom he honoured as his spiritual guide. A saint is honoured more than a soldier in popular estimation. Qutb-ud-din Aibak's status at the time of founding the Minar was no better than a slave and soldier. But he was not of-course, an ordinary soldier and he had rendered unique services for the cause of Islam. Both as a soldier and Sultan he had been very popular among his people, and if the Minar stands even to-day as a memorial to him and receives its name from him, he well deserves this honour.

The proposition, however, seems to be more tenable that the Minar was named by Qutb-ud-din Aibak himself, when he was supervising its construction on becoming the Sultan of Hindustan. He did so not in order to impress his power and prestige, but to proclaim to the entire world the glory and authority of Allah, the magnetic power of Islam and the names of his patrons, who had made him worthy of performing heroic deeds and great works. Sagacious and wise, Qutb-ud-din Aibak conceived the plan of the Minar after he was inspired with some great ideals. He was not a boaster and a braggart; his greatest virtues were

simplicity and humility as is evident from the inscriptions of the basement storey of the Minar. He applied the name Qutb to the Minaret in its literary sense i.e., a Pole or an Axis, but enshrined it with deeper meaning wishing it to serve as the Pole-Star on earth to indicate Time and its Trends. For his architectural achievements Qutb-ud-din Aibak secured his position as the first great Muslim builder in India and holds a high place among the the great Muslim kings of the East.

Qutb-ud-din Aibak commenced the construction of Qutb Minar, but he could not survive to complete it. He raised only the basement storey and the rest was constructed under the aegis of his son-in law Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish, who brought it to completion in 617 A.²⁶² H./ 1220 A.D. Qutb-ud-din Aibak could not complete the Minar, but it certainly goes to his credit that by his architectural efforts lastin a decade (1195-1205), he firmly laid the foundation of Islamic architecture in India.

From these buildings it appears that Qutb-ud-din Aibak was the chief exponent of Islamic faith in Hindustan. But as a ruler he remained fully conscious of his duties throughout his life. He displayed extraordinary

love for his subjects, and his treatment of the Hindus was based on political rather than religious considerations. It was his high sense of Justice that prevented him from becoming a fanatic or a bigot. He was a terror to the thieves and robbers, but not to his non-Muslim subjects. During his rule Hindus and Muslims were equal before the law. As a soldier he fought for Islam and for his sovereign, but as a Sultan he worked for peace and prosperity of his subjects and Saltatant. In the words of V.D. Mahajan, "However, in times of peace he was tolerant".²⁶³ Another eminent Hindu historian Dr. Tara Chand

also writes:

"..... their building were erected by the Hindus, who adopted their ancient rules to newer conditions, their coins were struck by Hindu goldsmiths and their accounts were kept by Hindu officers. Brahmin legists advised the king on administration of Hindu law, and Brahmin astronomers helped in the performance of their general functions".²⁶⁴

Indeed, Qutb-ud-din Aibak did not exclude the Hindus from services and it was not possible for him to do so, for the vast majority of his subjects were Hindus. He did not deprive the Hindu cultivators of their holdings or establish Muslim colonies in the villages by displacing the local inhabitants. While forts and palaces of the Rajas were targets of the invading armies, the huts of the villagers remained immune and the village life went on as

usual unmindful of the vast changes that were taking place in urban areas. Qutb-ud-din Aibak set the precedence for the rulers who came after him. History of Muslim India would have been quite different if Qutb-ud-din Aibak had disfigured the primal main spring of power and prosperity. He made changes only at the top of political and social structure and judged men by their merits.

After his accession Qutb-ud-din Aibak enjoyed a peaceful reign, but after three or four years Taj-ud-din Yalduz again attempted to regain the Indian territories for which he had already measured swords with him.²⁶⁵ Qutb-ud-din Aibak made preparations to chastise him and compelled him to fly from Ghazni.²⁶⁶ He then captured Ghazni, but this victory intoxicated his mind and he gave himself up to wine and pleasures.²⁶⁷ The citizens of Ghazni being disgusted with his conduct invited Taj-ud-din Yalduz to reoccupy the throne.²⁶⁸ Taj-ud-din Yalduz immediately responded to their invitation and after making essential military preparations, he made a surprise attack on Ghazni. Qutb-ud-din Aibak rose from lethargy, but he was not prepared for eventuality. So he immediately left Ghazni and escaped to Lahore through a secret rout known as Sang-e-Surakh.²⁶⁹ His brief sojourn at Ghazni lasting for forty days taught him a good lesson and therefore, after

this discomfiture he never indulged in sensual pleasures and governed his empire with the best laws and maintained a high standard of morality²⁷⁰. For his good conduct and good government his fame eventually spread throughout the Islamic world and secured for him an honoured place in the galaxy of great oriental monarchs²⁷¹. But he could not remain on the throne for a long time, for he suddenly expired in 607 A.H./1210 A.D., due to a fall from his horse, while playing Chaugan²⁷² (Polo). He was buried at Lahore and Sultan Iltutmish raised a tomb over his grave²⁷³. His actual reign lasted only for four years²⁷⁴, though he might claim twenty years as the period of his rule in addition when he acted as the Viceroy and Commander-in-chief of Sultan Shihab-ud-din.

There can be no two opinions as to the place Qutb-ud-din Aibak should occupy in history. Mr.A.B.M. Habibullah has rightly remarked:

"It hardly needs emphasising that to his untiring exertion and devoted service Muizz-ud-din owed most of his success in India. For he merely supplied the motive power, Aibak was responsible for the detail²⁷⁵ ed planning and initiating of the Delhi State(Saltanat)".

A slave becoming a sovereign, Qutb-ud-din Aibak created history in a novel way. Verily, he would have been classed among the greatest men of the world, if he were not so keen for pleasures that discoloured his otherwise extra-

ordinarily brilliant career at Ghazni. Nevertheless, he retains his unique position as one of the great conquerors and empire-builders, a soldier par excellence, a Sultan with wisdom, justice, generosity and iron will.

NOTES

1. TFM, p.21; Taj(E.D.11), p.214; TN,p. 138; FS, p.71; TM, p.13.
2. TFM, p.21; TN, p. 138; TA, p 41; MT, p. 54; TF, p.60.
3. TN.p. 138;
4. Ibid;
5. TN, p. 138; TM,p.13 — انگشت خنجرین شکسته بود به سبب این که انگشتی But following Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, Badauni, Ferishta, and Abdul Baqui Nihavandi think that he was called ایبک because his little finger was broken. See T.A.p. 41; MT, p.54; TF, p.60; MR,p.289. Major Raverty opines that his name was Ibak, but the Persian writers always called him Aibak. On the gateway of the qutb Mosque is clearly written ایبک. See List of Mohammadan and Hindu Monuments, Vol.111, p.9; Aibak was a Turkish tribe which was known for the beautiful features of its men and women. Though unfortunately Qutb-ud-din Aibak was not handsome, yet it is a fact that he was a member of this tribe. In Tabaqat-i-Nasiri there may be found six other names belonging to this tribe. See the Chapter on Shamsi Maliks,p.229-324. The impression that means one having a broken finger is not correct. To indicate his deformity the word شل (Shal) has been used by Minhaj which means disjointed or maimed.
6. TN.p.139;
7. TN.p.139; TF.p.61;
8. TN.p.139;TA.p.41; TF.p. 61;
9. Ibid;
10. Ibid;
11. FS.p.68;
12. TN.p.119; FS.p.66; TA.p.38; MT.p.50; TF.p.57 ;
13. TN.p.119; TF,p.57;
14. TN,p.119;TFM.,p.22; Taj(E.D.11.),p.215; FS.p.67; this victory is mentioned by all Persian writers.
15. TN.p.120; according to Minhaj he was captured near Sirsi. Taj.(E.D.11.),p.215; FS.p.74; TA,p.38; MT,p.50; TF,p.58. Hasan Nizami informs that after his capture

...Rai Pithora's life was spared, but when his secret mischievous activities and intrigues were discovered, "the diamond like sword severed the head of that abandoned wretch from his body". Minhaj, Nizam-ud-din Ahmad and Ferishta, however, write that he was captured near Sarsauti or Sirsi and put to death by the Firmanof Sultan Shihab-ud-din.

16. All medieval writers mention this date when the conquest of Delhi and Ajmer took place.

جواز تاریخ ہالہ گذشتہ برآن ہالہ انزور دستار و چیت
پتھورا و تونہ مقبرہ شد شہید اسلام منصور

(FS.P.81,11.1595-9)

17. TN.P.120;
18. TF.p.58;
19. TN.p.120; TA.p.38; MT.p50; TF.58;
20. Taj.(E.D.11.),p.214;
21. FS.p.81;
22. TFM.p.22; FS.p.81;
23. MT.50; TF.p.58;
24. TN.P.120; FS.p.82; TF.p.61;
25. TN.p.120; on page 139 Minhaj gives the date of the conquest of Delhi as 587 A.H.;TF.p.58;
26. TN.p.120; TF.p.58;
27. TF.p.58;
28. Ibid;
29. TF.p.61;
30. Ibid;
31. Ibid;

32. TF.P.61;
33. Ibid;
34. FS.P.82;
35. FS.P.82; Rehala,P.32; according to Ibn Batuttah the Sultan's associates told him that Qutb-ud-din Aibak wanted to assert his independence in India and that he had rebelled and disobeyed.
36. FS.P.82;
37. Ibid;
38. FS.P.83;
39. Ibid;
40. Ibid;
41. FS.P.84;
42. Ibid;
43. Ibid;
44. Ibid;
45. FS.P.85;
46. FS.P.86;
47. Ibid;
48. FS.P.87;
49. Ibid;
50. Ibid;
51. FS.P.88; Isami gives the story in detail. See FS.pp,86-88. Ibn Batuttah also gives this story in his Rehala.
52. See page 32.
52. Taj.(E.D.11.), P.220;
53. TFM.P.23; TN.P.120; TF.P.58;

54. TN.P.120; TF.P.58;
55. TN.P.140; FS.P.88;
56. FS.P.90;
57. TFM.P.23; TN.P.120; TF.P.58;
58. TF.P.61; Kamil-ut-tawarikh(E.D.11.),p. 251;
59. Taj.(E.D.11.),P.221;TF.P.61;
60. TF.P.61; Hadiqat-us-safa(MS.A.S.B.), f.12;
61. TF.P.61; Kamil-ut-tawarikh(E.D.11),P.251- Ibn Asir writes that Sultan Shihab-ud-din entered Benaras and carried off its treasures upon 14,00 camels.
62. TN.P.120; TFM.P.23- Fakhr-i-Muddabir mentions hundred elephants; FS.P.91- Isami mentions seven hundred elephants.
63. TF.P.61; Hadiqat-us-Safa (MS.A.S.B.) f.12;
64. Ibid;
65. TF.P.61;
66. Ibid;
67. Ibid;
68. Ibid;
69. TF.P.61; he was an ex-ruler of Delhi.
70. TF.P.61;
71. Ibid;
72. Ibid;
73. TF.P.62;
74. Taj.(E.D.11.), P.226; according to Hasan Nizami, "he sacrificed himself in the flames of a pyre".

75. Taj.(E.D.),P.226; Minhaj places the conquest of Naharwala in the year 593 A.H. See page 140;
76. TF.P.62;
77. Taj.(E.D.11.) P.228; TF.P.62;
78. TF.P.62;
79. Ibid;
80. Ibid;
81. Ibid; TFM.P.22- Fakhr-i-Muddabir writes four golden melons weighing 300 maunds;
82. TF.P.62;
83. Ibid;
84. Ibid;
85. Ibid;
86. Ibid;
87. Ibid;
88. TFM.P.23; Taj.(E.D.11.), P.227; TF.P.62;
89. TFM.P.24; Taj.(E.D.11.). P.227;
90. Taj.(E.D.11.),).226;
91. Ibid;
92. TF.P.62;
93. Taj.(E.D.11.), P.227;
94. Ibid;
95. TF.P.62;
96. Ibid;
97. Ibid;

98. TFM.P.23; TN.P.140; TF.P.62;
99. Taj.(E.D.11.), P.227; Hasan Nizami gives the name as Taki and Nadol; TF.P.62;
100. TF.P.62;
101. Ibid;
102. TN.P.140;
103. Taj.(E.D.11.) P. 228;
104. TF.P.62;
105. TFM.P.23; Taj.(E.D.11.)P.228; TN.P.140; Minhaj records also that territories upto the outskirts of China were conquered.
106. TF.P.62; Taj.(E.D.11.), P.228; Hasan Nizami writes, "...with due acknowledgement of the value and splendour of his general's services".
107. TFM.P.24; TF.P.62;
108. TF.P.62.
109. TN.P.146; TF.P.292;
110. TF.P.63; MT.P.57; Badauni calls him Malik Mohammad Bakhtiyar Ghorî.
111. TN.P.146; FS.P.94;
112. TN.P.146; TF.P.292;
113. TN.P.146; MT.P.57; according to Isami, Bakhtiyar left Ghazni for Chitor. There he entered into the service of Raja Jai Singh. But after sometime he left Chitor for Lakhnauti. vide, P.S.P. 95.
114. Ibid;
115. TN.P.147; TF.P.292; Ferishta gives the name as Malik -i-Muazzam Hisamuddin Ughalbak; he was one of the highly respected Amirs of Sultan Shihab-ud-din.
116. TN.P.147; MT.P.57; Badauni informs that he could not be happy in the company of Aibak at Lahore and so he joined the service of Malik Hisamuddin Ughalbak.

117. TN.P.147;
118. Ibid;
119. Ibid;
120. Ibid;
121. HB.P.30;
122. Taj.(E.D.11.), P.229; TFM.P.25; TN.P.148,150- Minhaj gives no exact date of the conquest of Bihar, but it is alluded to in these pages;
123. TN.P.147; RS.P.61;
124. IA.iv. pp. 366-7;
125. Taj.(E.D.11.), 230;
126. Ibid;
127. Ibid;
128. TFM.P.25; Fakhr-i-Muddabir writes Bidur for Bihar;
129. TN.P.148;
130. Ibid;
131. RS.P.61; TN.P.148;
132. RS.P.61. This anecdote is somewhat differently related by another writer, who says that the enemies of Bakhtiyar Khilji stated to Aibak that Bakhtiyar wanted to fight with an elephant and Aibak had a white one, which was rampant and so violent that the Filbans were afraid of it and which he directed should be brought on the course for Bakhtiyar to encounter. He approached it and gave such a blow on the trunk that the elephant was put to flight. However, Minhaj gives the anecdote in these few words-"A party of Amirs, at the Capital (Delhi), through the noising of Mohammad Bakhtiyar's praises, and at beholding the honour he received and the gifts bestowed upon him by Sultan Qutb-ud-din, became envious of Mohammad Bakhtiyar, and at a convivial banquet they treated him in a reproachful and super-

cillous manner and were deriding him and uttering ~~innuendoes~~ and matter reached such a pitch that he was directed to combat with an elephant at the Qasr-e-Safed(White Palace). With one blow which he dealt the elephant on the trunk with his mace, the elephant fled discomfited. See TN.P.148. Ferishta in describing the anecdote follows closely Rauzat-us-Safa. See pp.293.94.

133. RS.P.61;

134. Just as Prophet Abraham came out of the fire-pit, which turned into a garden by God's blessing, so came out Bakhtiyar Khilji of the ordeal.

135. TN.P.148;

136. TF.P.293;

137. TN.P.148;

138. TN.P.150; RG.P.8 : 'Gaur, called also Lakhnouti, the ancient Capital of Bengal and supposed to be the Gangia regia of Ptolemy, stood on the left bank of Ganges about 25 miles below Rajemal...It was the Capital of Bengal 730 years before Christ...Before Bakhtiyar Khilji conquered this city, it was called Lakshmanvati, which the vulgar have corrupted into Lucknouti'.

139. TN.P. 150;

140. Ibid;

141. Ibid;

142. Ibid;

143. Ibid;

144. Ibid;

145. TN.P.151;

146. Ibid;

147. Ibid;

148. Ibid;

149. TN.p.151;
150. TN.p.151; TF.p. 293: according to Ferishta, Nadia was situated between Lakhnauti and Bangala.
151. TN.p.151;
152. TN.P.151; TF.p.293 - Ferishta writes, "The territory from Gaur to the border of Bihar was called Lakhnauti".
153. TF.p.293; Ferishta writes also, "The territory from Gaur to Baharas and upto the great river was known as Bangalah and also known as Bang".
154. TN.p.151;
155. FS.P. 96..... محمود دران ملک شہر بادشاہ، جہاں گاہے منکشیں شہدہ تھیں
 بہ نیکو اسلام و یاری محبت، فراوان بدست آمد تیغ و تخت
156. TN.P.151; Minhaj's words do not indicate that Bakh-tiyar issued coins and introduced Khutba in his own name for he simply writes, "He brought the different parts of that territory under his sway and instituted therein, in every part, the reading of Khutba and the coining of money".
157. TF.p.293;
158. FS.p.96..... شہینم از کھنوی اوتاچیں، عیان کرد اسلام آن پاک دین
159. TN.P.152; TF.p.294;
160. TN.p.156; TF.p.293, 94;
161. TN.p.156; TF.p.295;
162. TN.p.157;
163. TN.p.156; TF.p.295;
164. Ibid;
165. Ibid;

166. TN.P.156;
167. TN.P.156; TF.P.295 : Ferishta in support of his statement quotes Minhaj.
168. Taj.(E.D.11.), pp 230-232; Tarikh -i- Ibn Khaldun,P.33; TN.P.123; TF.P.57;
169. Taj.(E.D.11.),P.230; TF.P.58; but Minhaj places this event in 601 A.H. See TN.P.121;
170. TF.P.58;
171. TF.P.59-60;
172. IA.(Jan.1907),P.4.
173. Ibid;
174. TN.P.117. The Khokars were originally the subjects of Jammu. They stopped the payment of Taxes, and allied themselves with Khusrau Malik. Thereupon, the Raja invited Sultan Shihab-ud-din and it was at his request that Sialkot was garrisoned.
175. TF.P.59;
176. Ibid;
177. Taj.(E.D.11.),P.230; TF.P.58;
178. TF.P.58;
179. Taj.(E.D.11.),P.230;
180. Ibid;
181. Taj. (E.D.11.),P.232;
182. Ibid;
183. Taj.(E.D.11.),P.233;
184. TF.P.59-60;
185. TF.P.60; Tarikh-i-Ibn Khaldun, P.35;
186. TFM.P.28;

187. TFM.P.28;
188. TF.P.60; Taj.(E.D.11),P.233;
189. Taj.(E.D.11.) P.233; TFM.P.29; TN.P.124; TF.P.60-
Ferishta writes, "برہمپک". FS.P.97;
190. Taj.(E.D.11.), P.233;
191. TN.P.124; TM.P.12; TF.P.60; Tarikh-i-Wassaf(E.D.111),
P.37;
192. TF.P.60;
193. TN.P.132;
194. TN.P.126; Minhaj gives the following list of Sultan
Shihab-ud-din'd slaves who became kings after his
death: Sultan Taj-ud-din Yalduz at Ghazni;
Sultan Nasir-ud-din Qubacha in Multan
and Uchcha;
Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak at Lahore;
Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Iwaz, the Khalj, over
the territory of Lakhnauti.
- FS.P.70; according to Isami the following slaves
attained unto sovereignty;
- کے تاج الدین یزدان آں سردار کے شد بہ شاہ غزنویں
محمّد تاج کے در ملتان ، شہشاہ شد بہ شاہ حجاب
دگر جہرہ التیمش نامور کہ بہ بندہ قطب نرزانہ فر
195. TN.P.132;
196. Taj.(E.D.11.),P.230; TN.P.142;
197. TFM.P.28;
198. TFM.pp.28-29; Taj.(E.D.11.),P.233;
199. TN.P.169; Rehala.P.32; FS.P.90;
200. FS.P.99;
201. TN.P.140; FS.P.99;
202. FS.P.99;

202. TN.P.140; TM.P.13; FS.P.99; TF.P.63;
204. TN.P.140; TF.P.63;
205. TFM.P.31;
206. TN.P.140; TM.P.15;
207. TFM.P.31; TN.P.140; TA.P.41; MT.P.55; TF.P.63;
But Kh.T. P.188 gives 11 th R.1.603 A.H., which
is not correct.
208. Ibn Batuttah does not include the name of Qutb-
ud-din Aibak in the list of Muslim rulers of India.
His name also does not appear in the list of Sul-
tans whose names were proclaimed in the Friday Khut-
ba. vide Tarikh-i-Feroze Shahi of Zia-ud-din Barani,
pp. 106-107;
209. Sultan Mahmud 'Ghaznavi's aims which prompted him
to invade India are quite well known to be re-
peated here.
210. Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru in his Discovery of India
writes, "The conquest of Delhi did not mean the
subjugation of the rest of India. The Cholas were
still powerful in the South and there were other
independent states. It took another century and a
half for Afghan rule to spread over the greater
part of the South. But Delhi was significant and
symbolic of the new order...."(P.274).
211. Vide, Tarikh-i-Fakhr-ud-din Mubarak Shah, Taj-ul-
Maasir, Tabaqat-i-Nasiri.
212. Taj.(E.D.11), P.233;
213. Vide, Dr. Ross's Introduction to Tarikh-i-Fakhr-
ud-din Mubarak Shah, P.iv.
214. EIM.1911-12, P.1, refers to a MS—Tarikh-i-Waqiat-e-
Palwal in the possession of Mohammad Shuib, which
contains this inscription.
215. Vide, The Sultans of Delhi : Their Coinage and
Metrology, P.14.
216. Vide, Taj-ul-Maasir (E.D.11.), P.233;

217. The Palwal Mosque was built in 607 A.H. It is, therefore, obvious that the firman for the construction of mosque and the **consequent** inscription on it came into light when Qutb-ud-din Aibak was governing Hindustan as a Sultan.
218. Vide, Sultan Iltutmish's inscription on Qutb-Minar and other buildings he built.
219. RS.P .69;
220. TN.P.142; according to Minhaj, he was a son-in-law of Qutb-ud-din Aibak;
221. Taj (E.D.11.), P.233;
222. TFM.P.33;
223. Vide, TN.P.140;
224. FS.P.99;
225. TM.P.13;
226. TA.P.41;
227. MT.P.55;
228. TF.P.63;
229. Lub-ut-Tawarikh (MS), f.6b;
230. Tarikh-i-Masumi, P.35;
231. Rauzat-us-Safa, vol.4.P.215;
232. Haft Aqlim, part.2.P.523;
233. All the works mentioned give the exact years when Qutb-ud-din Aibak acted as a Viceroy and also the years when he ruled as a Sultan. Vide, TM.P.16-
Yahya here writes thus:

وفات سلطان قطب الدین ایبک مرحوم در سنه سبع و ست مایه بود و مدت ملک از
اول فتح دہلی تا وفات بست سال و چند ماه بود - و عید سلطنت با چتر و
دور باش و خطاب بادشاہی مدت چہار سال بود -

234. DR.P.48; Amir Khusrau writes:

پیرا خبہ آن شاہ غازی کرد بنیاد ز قلعہ الدین سلطان گشت آباد
ز سب بندہ کہ از یک حکم مخدوم ہوا کرد ز اسلام این کہیں بوم

235. Taj.(E.D.11.), P.234; DR.P.48;

236. All the contemporary and medieval writers are unanimous on this point.

237. TFM.P.52; here Aibak obeyed the Quranic injunction:

وَمَا كَانَ لِمُؤْمِنٍ أَنْ يَقْتُلَ مُؤْمِنًا إِلَّا خَطَاً
(A believer should not kill a believer except by mistake-5.4.92.)

238. Taj(E.D.11),P.222;

239. TN.P.137;

240. Ibid;

241. TFM.P.50;

242. TN.P.137;

243. Vide, Taj-ul-Maasir(MS),f.7; TFM.P.72;

244. TF.P.58; Mirat-i-Jahan Numa(MS),363b از وقت دین محمد صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم

245. Indian Architecture, P.12;

246. TF.P.62;

247. AMRD.P.39;

248. Ibid;P.39. This mosque was known also as Jama Masjid :

249. Indian Architecture,P.6; FS.110, Masalik,36;

250. Ibid;

251. AMRD.P.36;

252. Ibid;

253. Vide,Tabaqat-i-Nasiri;

254. Vide, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, P.191;
255. Daulat Khana. Mohammad Aziz Ahmad writes, "Jala-ud-din Khalji's enthronement took place in the Daulat Khana (White Palace) even after Balban had constructed the larger Red Palace. The term White Palace must have come into use after the Red Palace had been constructed. Daulat Khana is the older name". (*Early Turkish Empire of Delhi*, P.204, fn.5.).
256. It is the general opinion about Qutb Minar.
257. *Delhi in a View*, P.49; *Asar-us-Sanadid*, P.17; Sir Syed Ahmad Khan informs: 'It is an old story that the first storey of the Minaret was built by Rai Pithora in 538 A.H./1143 A.D., for his daughter near the Qila and his temple, for she was a worshiper of the sun. And when the Muslims conquered this temple, they engraved inscriptions with their names.'
258. *History of Medieval Hindu India*, Vol.3.P.347;
259. Majority of modern writers are unanimous on this point, such as, Carr Stephen, Percy Brown, Sir Henry Sharp and others.
260. *Cunningham's Report*, 1862-63, P.194; *ASIR*, 1871-72, P.69;
261. *Delhi*, P.45;
262. *Cunningham's Report*, 1862-63, P.202;
263. *Muslim Rule in India*, P.50;
264. *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, P.137;
265. *Taj.* (E.D.11.), P.234; *TN*.P.140; *FS*.P.100; *TF*.P.63-*Perishta* places this event in 603 A.H. But according to Isami the two Sultans fought together after ~~th~~ three or four years; *Minhaj*, however, simply says, that they fought for the acquisition of Lahore after sometimes.

266. TN.P.140; Minhaj writes only: - **تاج الدین منہاج از پیش او ہرفت** -
But TM.P.14; FS.P.100; TA.P.42; MT.P.55; TF.P.63,
record that after his defeat Yalduz went to Kirman.
267. TN.P.140; FS.P.100; TA.P.42;
268. Ibid;
269. TN.P.134; FS.P.101; TA.P.43; MT.P.55; TF.P.63; The ~~last~~
last three works contain a couplet moralising on
this sad event:

جو سلطان سر انداز باشد زے -
نقد بیخبر از سرشن تاج کے -

Trans:

When the Sultan becomes intoxicated with wine,
The Crown of the king is suddenly thrown away
from his head;

270. TF.63;
271. Ibid;
272. All medieval and modern writers accept this cause
of qutb-ud-din Aibak's death and also the date of
his death. Raverty with reference to Lub-ut-Tawa-
rikh says, "this history in Persian places Ai-
bak's death in 609 A.H." But in the MS of this his-
tory in possession of Asiatic Society of Bengal,
(Calcutta), I found the date as 607 A.H. - Vide,
Raverty (TN), vol.1.P.528, fn. 2, and Lub-ut-Tawarikh,
(MS.A.S.B. NO.P.161, f.7).
273. TM.P.15- **در ان شبہ میوی لاچور دین کردند و سلطان منور شمس الدین القسری ظہیرہ اورا بنا کردہ** -
274. Minhaj and other writers mention "four years", but
the writer of Rauzat-us-Safa says:
**و زمان حکومت قطب الدین ایبک در دیار ہند بہت سال بود و چہا سال در ان مملکت
خطبہ بنام او خوانندہ -**
(Rauzat-us-Safa, vol.4. p.216)
275. Foundation of Muslim Rule in India, P.91.

CHAPTER.11.
I N T E R R E G N U M.

Sultan Aram Shah

Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak had died without officially nominating his successor. His sudden demise in 607 A.H./1210 A.D., necessitated immediate appointment and appearance of a new Sultan on the throne of the newly established Muslim empire in Hindustan. In order to save it from dismemberment and foil every attempt that would disturb the peace of the country or provoke rebellion, the great nobles and dignitaries, who were present at Lahore in connection with the last rites of the late Sultan, elevated his son Aram Shah to the throne¹.

Aram Shah's elevation to the throne as the new Sultan, however, did not please the Amirs and Maliks of the other part of the empire. The sudden disappearance of Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak from the political scene, which he dominated for two decades, encouraged party-strife and struggle for power and in the provincial capitals hectic activities began to place on the throne a person of choice. The nobles of Delhi took the lead and put forward the name of their own nominee for the imperial throne. Their choice fell on Malik Iltutmish - the governor of Badaun². He was a favourite slave of Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak. He had already established his reputation for his personal heroism and intelligence, secured his emancipation at the recommendation of Sultan Shihab-

ud-din and displayed his administrative capacities during his career as governor of Gwalior, Barn and Badaun. Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak had called him his son and regarded him as well suited for an empire³. On the contrary Aram Shah was a young prince, who lacked his father's wisdom and ability. For the safety of the empire, especially when the news of Chingiz Khan's - the Mongol Chief's atrocities in Central Asia were reaching India, Ali Ismail⁴, the commander-in-Chief of the army, in conformity with other nobles, invited Malik Iltutmish to come to Delhi and occupy the throne⁵. Iltutmish immediately responded to their invitation and reached Delhi, where he met with a cordial reception and the nobles acclaimed him as the Sultan-i-Hind⁶(the emperor of Hindustan). In order to strengthen his position further Iltutmish espoused the daughter of Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak⁷.

When the news of Sultan Iltutmish's elevation reached Lahore, Sultan Aram Shah at the advice of the ruling party at Lahore marched towards Delhi at the head of a large army to silence his opponents and destroy his rivals. As he marched near Delhi, Sultan Iltutmish, too, moved out of his capital to face his rival and having arranged his forces near a forest⁸ gave battle to Sultan Aram Shah. In the war that ensued between the two royal chiefs, Sultan Aram Shah suffered defeat and many of his

9
followers were put to the sword. After this victory Sultan
Iltutmish celebrated his coronation and assuming the royal
title of Sultan Shams-ud-din¹⁰ ascended the throne of Delhi
in 607 A.H.,/¹¹1210 A.D.

Sultan Iltutmish, however, did not find the throne
of Delhi a bed of roses. Sultan Aram Shah was defeated by
him, but he had escaped to an unknown destination. While
Sultan Iltutmish occupied Delhi, Nasir-ud-din- Qubacha was
the ruler of Sind. At the same time Bengal had become in-
dependent under the Khilji chiefs¹² in the east and Lahore
became a coveted object for each of the three leading
Sultans in the west and they all attempted to possess it
by all means. Besides, Rajas and Raes on the frontiers of
the Muslim empire began to show a rebellious spirit. Thus
soon after the death of Qutb-ud-din Aibak and the discomfi-
ture of Aram Shah there sprang up four independent states,
within the newly founded Muslim empire of India.¹³

In 607 A.H./1210 A.D., Hindustan of -course, presented
a grim outlook. Political stability under Sultan Shi-
hab-ud-din and Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak had made the no-
bles conscious of their position in the State. Upto now
they had worked together for a common cause, but the dis-
memberment of the Ghorian Empire and Qutb-ud-din Aibak's

elevation to the throne gave a new tint to the principle that provided a candidate for the vacant throne. Without the magnetic force of Sultan qutb-ud-din Aibak, the nobles could not remain united and the division between the Muizzi and qutbi nobles became quite distinct. In the Muslim world beyond India, the sword usually decided the issue, though the principle of hereditary succession was generally recognized and investiture by the Caliph was deemed as giving legal sanction to a succession obtained by sword or right of inheritance. qutb-ud-din Aibak had become a Sultan by virtue of his merits; he got the empire of Hindustan, as a prize for his long meritorious services, in his case neither the principle of force, "might is right" had worked, nor the principle of natural right of succession. His was a case of favourable circumstances playing into his hands. He even did not aspire for Caliphal recognition, which was regarded as the highest honour for a political head. There is no doubt that if challenged, qutb-ud-din Aibak might have resorted to sword as happened when Yalduz treacherously occupied Lahore; if necessary, he would have applied to Caliph to legalize his position, but he did not do so, for he had already received from Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din, the nephew of Sultan Shihab-ud-din, the requisite letter-

patent for full sovereign powers.¹⁴ But Qutb-ud-din Aibak came to the throne by virtue of a new principle i.e by popular consent. The unanimous choice of the Muizzi nobles confirmed him in his position. Thereafter, he found no serious rival to challenge his right or question his authority. However, after his death his son and successor, Aram Shah faced a totally changed situation. Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak had died without nominating his successor. He did not find time for it, nor he so desired, for he trusted the nobles to provide a candidate for the vacant throne as was done after the death of Sultan Shihab-ud-din. Following his master and sovereign, Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak did not favour his relations as possible candidates and judged men by their merits and accordingly he once said that Iltutmish would govern the empire with wisdom and ability.¹⁵ However, after his death, the nobility was in a quite different mood. The spirit of adventure actuated them especially when they perceived that the acquisition of throne was possible without securing the time honoured legal or religious sanction, that Aram was not endowed with his father's best qualities and that the new empire was superficially integrated as its different parts were really governed by quasi independent rulers, who were held together by the influence of the powerful monarch, Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak. It was in the hope of securing the throne that Nasir-ud-din Qubacha

went towards Sind and captured Multan, Uchcha, Bhakkar and Swistan.¹⁶ He was a well known Muizzi noble and son-in-law of Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak.¹⁷ Taj-ud-din Yalduz, too, waited for an opportunity to strike the blow. It was in anticipation of serious disturbances and clash of interests that the nobles of Lahore placed Aram Shah on the throne without giving serious thought to the consequences of their action, for it was enough for them that he was the son of the late Sultan, whom they loved and honoured. But Sultan Aram Shah's accession proved a temporary measure, for he was soon ousted by Sultan Iltutmish at the instigation of the Delhi nobles. All things considered, henceforth the nobility seems to be determined to play a leading role in the domain of politics. Sultan Aram Shah's accession marks the beginning of the period wherein divided nobility secures the position of the King-makers and the Crown tosses from one head to another like a shuttle-cock. The division of nobility and its machination to appropriate sovereign powers as far as possible remained a potent factor to be reckoned with throughout the Saltanat period.

Sultan Aram Shah's reign, though brief, has created some important and interesting topics for discussion.

- (1). How far it is correct to say that Sul-

tan Aram Shah's reign did not last even for one year?

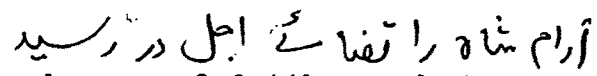
(2). Was Aram Shah a son of Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak?¹⁹

(3). Was Sultan Aram Shah's rival, Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish an usurper? ²⁰

With regard to the first question, the contemporary writers are silent . Minhaj does not give any clue to the event leading to the death of Sultan Aram Shah. He informs about Sultan Aram Shah's defeat and immediately thereafter he first writes about the occupation of Delhi by Iltutmish and that of Uchcha and Multan by Nasir-ud-din Qubacha and then in a few words, he records two important events:

1. Sultan Iltutmish's marriage with the daughter of Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak, and
2. the death of Sultan Aram Shah.

But he does not give any cause or date of Sultan Aram Shah's death and simply writes:

21 
(The decree of death reached Aram Shah).

Amir Khusrau and Ibn Batutah ignore the short reign of Sultan Aram Shah and his name does not find a place in the list of the Sultans engraved on a stone found near Ro-
²²hatak. But Isami like Minhaj gives some information about Sultan Aram Shah's reign; he, however, unlike Minhaj fair-

ly writes: ²³ سرچند روز برفت از جهان - تپیشد دگر بار تخت شهبان

(After some days he went out of the world i.e. died and the throne of kings became empty again.)

Yahya writing in the 15th century only once refers to the short reign of Sultan Aram Shah and he does so while he writes the history of Sultan Iltutmish²⁴. He provides no separate head-line to give an account of his short reign as was done by the previous writers, nor he prescribes any period of his reign that ended abruptly after his defeat.

Wassaf writing in the 16th century gives about Aram Shah the following information only:

"When he (qutb-ud-din Aibak) died leaving no male child, a slave by name Altamsh ascended the throne under the name of Shams-ud-din".²⁵

It was Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, who for the first time conjectured that Sultan Aram Shah's reign did not last even for one year.²⁶ His statement has been accepted by other Mughal historians as well as by many modern writers.

A few writers have opined that soon after his defeat Sultan Aram Shah escaped and disappeared and continued to live, though in oblivion, for three years. One

of them is Major Raverty, the celebrated translator of Minhaj's Tabaqat-i-Nasiri. He writes:

"Aram Shah on becoming aware of these acts of Iyaltimish, at the advice of his supporters, summoned to his aid the old Amirs and soldiers of his adopted father and they having rallied round him in considerable numbers from Amroha and other parts and he having incited them, advanced with a strong force towards Dihili. Malik Iyaltimish having gained possession of the Capital issued from it with his forces and in the plain of Jud before Dihili the rival forces encountered each other. After a feeble effort on the part of Aram Shah's troops, he was defeated and disappeared and what became of him is not quite certain, but our author is probably correct in saying that he was put to death by his rival. After this Malik Iyaltimish became independent ruler of Dihili. And other great chiefs were left for a while in the possession of territories they held before and had since appropriated. The reign of Aram Shah, if such can be probably so called, is said to have terminated within a year, but others contend that it continued for three years. The work I have alluded to, gives the following inscriptions on a coin of Aram Shah and the date on the other as given as Iyaltimish's, corroborates the statement of those who say Aram Shah's reign extended over three years.

The following are the inscription of the coins:

هذا الدرهم سكوا باسم الملك ظل الله آراش شاه في سنة سبع وستمائة
رب دار السلطنة سنة لا بقر

which may be thus rendered:

"This Dirham is stamped with the name of the Malik, the shadow of God, Aram Shah in the year 607 A.H." And on the reverse,

"Struck in the Darul-Saltanat, the city of Lahore". The date on Iyaltimish's coin..... is 612 A.H., the first of his reign". 27

Such a view, however, can not be accepted as

true . For Sultan Iltutmish's earlier coin was issued in 608 A.H., and his earliest inscription is also dated 608²⁸ A.H. See Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Part 11,²⁹ and Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi for coin and Epigraphia Indo- Moslemica 1911-12,³⁰ and Archaeological Survey Report, vol.³¹xx, for inscription.

Likewise the view of those who have given the actual period of Sultan Aram Shah's reign in months does³² not seem to be feasible. It would be better if the conclusion arrived at by the medieval Persian writers , who flourished during the Mughal Period, be accepted as the most appropriate; they all agree that Sultan Aram Shah's reign did not last even for one year.³³

2. With regard to Sultan Aram Shah's relation with Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak there is nothing to warrant that he was not his son. No doubt, Taj-ud- Maasir is silent on this point; its author informs:

"The holy grave of Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak was constructed at Lahore".

And immediately thereafter he begins the history of Sultan Iltutmish without saying a word about Sultan Aram Shah.³⁴ But the reason for such a silence is quite obvious.

Hasan Nizami does not want to displease his sovereign, Sultan Iltutmish by disclosing the relation of his rival and thereby lower his position as a successor of Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak.

Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, on the other hand, not only mentions that Aram Shah was a son of Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak, but also gives a brief account of his career as a successor of Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak and his eventual defeat and death. No doubt, he writes that Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak had three daughters, but this information he supplies in a casual way in connection with their marriage to disclose that if Nasir-ud-din Qubacha was a son-in-law of the late Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak, Sultan Iltutmish, too, had acquired this distinction to strengthen his position as a ruler; otherwise he frankly informs about Sultan Aram Shah in the very beginning of his account by providing such a headline:

الثاني منهم آرام شاه بن سلطان قطب الدين عليه الرحمة 36

(ARAM SHAH son of Sultan Qutb-ud-din)

After Minhaj almost all the notable writers in Persian have acknowledged Aram Shah as the son of Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak. Keeping a separate chapter in their respective histories, which they capped with the headline "Sultan Aram Shah, son of Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak", they

never seem to have doubted for once about Aram Shah's relation with Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak as father and son. Minhaj was a contemporary of Hasan Nizami. Like him he, too, had to cater to the wishes of his sovereign, and to think of his displeasures. While he mentions that Aram Shah was the son of Qutb-ud-din Aibak, he at the same time clarifies the position of his sovereign Sultan Iltutmish by revealing the testament of the late Sultan and his relation to him ³⁷. It certainly goes to his credit that he presented a fact of history without any hesitation. Although no details are available from his pages about Aram Shah as a Prince and as a Sultan, still the information he gives is significant.

To substantiate Minhaj's statement I quote from Futuh-us-Salatin, which has not been consulted by the writers who deny Sultan Aram Shah his royal birth, but which is one of the important sources of history for the period under review.

38

نہاں چو نکہ ایک بخت از جہاں	بگردند دفنش بر رسم شہاں
شنیدم کہ آرام شاہ گزید	کو بودے پسر شاہ ابالیقین
بس از شہ بلا ہو رند شہیار	ندادش ولے فرستے روزگار

Trans:

In short, when Aibak expired, he was buried accord-

ing to royal custom

I have heard that the respectable Aram Shah was surely the son of the sovereign (Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak).

After his death, he became king in Lahore. But the time did not give him any respite.

Again, the following manuscripts and historical works might well be considered to discover the truth of Minhaj's statement.

	40			42
1. Ain-i-Akbari,	page 160	*	12. Hadiqat-us-Safa, (MS),	
2. Dastan-i-Turk-	"		vol.3.f12b.	
3. tazan-i-Hind, 41	"	244	* 13. Lub-ut-Tawarikh, (MS),	
4. Haft Aqlim, vol.11,	"	523	* f.8.	
5. Maasir-i-Rahimi,	"	297	* 14. Mirat-i-Jahan Numa,	
6. Muntakhab-ut-			f.366.	
7. Tawarikh,	"	61	* 15. Mirat-ul-Alam, f118b.	
8. Rauzat-us-Safa,				
9. vol.iv,	"	216	* 16. Rauzat-ut Tahirin,	
10. Tabaqat-i- Akbar			Part,11,f.197.	
11. Shahi,	"	55	* 17. Tazkirat-ul-Muluk,	
12. Tarikh-i-Ferishta,	"	64	* f.30b.	
13. Tarikh-i-Mubarak				
14. Shahi,	"	16		
15. Tarikh-i-Masumi,	"	35		
16. Zafar-ul-Walid,	"	686		

Among the writers who variously think about Sultan Aram Shah that he was no relation of Sultan Qutb-ud-din, or that he was neither son, nor brother of Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak, or that he was the man who was available on the spot for the throne, the name of only a few might be mentioned as they form a very small group.

1. Juwaini:

"When (Qutb-ud-din Aibak) died, he left no male heir, a slave of his own, Iltutmish by namewas set up on the throne." 43

2. Wassaf:

"When he (Qutb-ud-din Aibak) died hav-

ing no male child, a slave by name Altamsh ascended the throne under the name of Shams-ud-din." 44

3. Sujan Ray Bhandari:

"As the late Sultan had no son, who could rule (after him), the nobles raised his adopted son Aram Shah, who was his only successor, to the throne in 607 A.H." 45

4. Wolsley Haig:

".....proclaimed Aram Shah described sometimes as Aibak's adopted son, but usually believed to have been a son of his body". 46

5. Aziz Ahmad:

"The new Sultan was neither son, nor brother to the late Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak". 47

6. Muin-ul-Haque:

"He Aram Shah) was neither son, nor brother of the late Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak". 48

7. Ishwari Prasad:

"After the sudden death of Qutb-ud-din, the Amirs and Malikis of Hindustan placed upon the throne Aram Shah described as Aibak's son". 49

8. "It is extremely doubtful whether Aram Shah had any dynastic claim". 50

9. ".....Qutb-ud-din Aibak was succeeded by his adopted son Aram Shah". 51

52

On the contrary a host of modern writers now believe that Sultan Aram Shah was the real son of Sultan Qutb-ud-din. And of-course, in view of so many concrete evidences, this problem no more incites the curiosity of the readers. It is now proper to say- Satis Verborum.

Now coming to the third and last question, it

may be affirmed that Sultan Iltutmish was not an usurper. The following reasons suffice to exonerate him from the clumsy charge to which he has been subjected by some writers.

1. Iltutmish marched against Aram Shah at the⁵³ invitation of the Delhi nobles. He made no aggression prompted by any lust for power. He was then governor of Badaun.

2. In the new Muslim empire of Hindustan upto now no Sultan had ascended the throne of Delhi under the principle of hereditary succession. Like Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak, Sultan Iltutmish's elevation to the throne was mainly by virtue of the principle of election. He had, of course, no right for hereditary succession, but he did not acquire the throne by force as well. He used force only in his defence when he was recognized as the Sultan of Hindustan by the nobles

3. The nobility was no longer a compact body. Racialism and provincialism were clouding their imagination for self interest as they were now conscious of their position in the empire and also of the role they had already played in the extension and progress of the empire. The division of nobility into two warring sections was

bound to create mischief. Iltutmish only took full advantage of the political situation developing after the sudden death of Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak.

4. The principle of hereditary succession - a general principle recognised in the Muslim world - was first put into force and consequently Aram Shah succeeded his father Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak, but he was a worthless ruler and the new empire over which he presided had just come out of the throes of birth⁵⁴ and needed a powerful and capable monarch to ensure its survival, progress and prosperity. The nobles found such a man in Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak's nominee Malik Iltutmish, who was his adopted son also. Nasir-ud-din Qubacha, too, was closely related to him, but he could not find favour with the nobles of Hindustan. That Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak was a favourite of all the nobles can well be realised from the fact that if one group of nobles sought to honour his memory by placing his son on the throne, the other group attempted to fulfil his desire by offering the Crown to his adopted son, who was one of the most popular figures in the empire. No other candidate was put forward as the possible successor of Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak. If Iltutmish responded to the invitation of the Delhi nobles and put on the Crown, it was only in deference to the royal wish of Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak as

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well as to that of the electors.

5. Lastly it will be noticed that the principle of election was a well recognized principle throughout the Muslim world. If Iltutmish sat on the throne by popular verdict, he can not be charged as an usurper. Iltutmish's case indicates the triumph of royal nomination aided by baronial support, but after a tragedy that was hardly unavoidable in those peculiar circumstances.

NOTES

1. TN.P.141; FS.P.102; Kh.T.P189; Batutah ignores the short reign of Sultan Aram Shah; Yahya does not give the name of the place where Aram Shah's coronation took place; TA.P.55; Badauni is silent on this point and simply says "After his father's death, Aram Shah became his successor and at the advice of nobles left Lahore for Delhi".P.61; according to Ferishta Aram Shah ascended the throne at Delhi, P.64; but the contemporary writer Minhaj-us-Siraj does not make it clear by an explicit statement that Delhi or Lahore was the place of Aram Shah's coronation.
2. All medieval and modern writers are unanimous on this point.
3. TN.P.141;
4. TN.P.170- Minhaj says: امیر دہلی TA.P.57: امیر دار حضرت دہلی
TF.P.65: امیر علی السجیل و امیر دار دہلی
5. Ibid;
6. MT.P.61: Badauni says that he reached Delhi from Badaun via Hardwar;
7. The translation of Tabaqat-i-Nasiri in Eliot and Dowson's History of India, vol.2, on page 301 does not confirm to the Manuscript of Tabaqat-i-Nasiri in the possession of Asiatic Society of Bengal. While the Translators place Iltutmish's marriage with the daughter of Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak before his accession, the Manuscript records the event after he puts on the Crown. Raverty, who is also a translator of Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, acknowledges that Iltutmish's marriage took place after he had ascended the throne.
8. TN.P.170- صبر کے خون TDM.P.17- صبر کے حذر TF.P.64- صبر کے طاہر
9. TN.P.170; TM.P.16 آرام شاہ دہلی TF.P.65;
10. TN.P.170; FS.P.104; TM.P.17; TA.P.57; MT.P.62; TF.P.65;
11. Ibid;
12. TN.P.142; RS.pp.71-72, "Ghiyas-ud-din establishing his rule completely over this province introduced Khutba and coin in his own name and to some extent arrogating to himself the sovereign powers ruled over this country".

13. TN.P.142; TF.P.65- Ferishta mentions that it was soon after the death of Sultan qutb-ud-din Aibak that his empire broke up into four independent states and that it was in such deteriorating political situation that the Maliks invited Iltutmish to assume the royal duties. But according to Isami it was after the throne became vacant a second time that Ylduz captured Lahore, vide FS.P.102.
14. TN.P.140; TF.P.63;
15. TN.P.141- قطب الدین را نظر میداد بر سلطان شمس الدین التمش بود
(Sultan qutb-ud-din had an eye over Sultan Shams-ud-din as the possible ruler of the Saltanat in future).
16. TN.pp.142-143; TM.P.16; TA.P.55; TF.P.64;
17. Ibid;
18. Vide, TA.P.55- Nizam-ud-din writes, "میت سلطنت آرامشاه بهائی نمیرسد"
19. Vide, Kh. T.P.189- چون سلطان مرحوم پسر صلیبی که سزاوار جهانگیری تواند بود نداشت
در مان دولت با اتفاق یکدیگر آرام بخش پسر خوانده سلطان را که سوا او داری نبود
بکم وراثت در ۶۰۴ در خطه دل منبای لاچور برابر ملک فرماندهی اجلاس داده سلطان
آرامشاه خطاب کردند
20. Vide, Rehala.P.32- "He (Sultan Shams-ud-din Lalmish) was the first to rule as an absolute king with his head-quarters established at Delhi. Before capturing the sceptre he was a slave of Amir-qutb-ud-din Aibak, his general and lieutenant. When qutb-ud-din died, he appropriated the throne and made his people to take the oath of allegiance to him".
21. TN.P.141;
22. Chronicles, pp. 137-138; J.A.S.B. vol.xl111 (1874),Part.1, pp. 104-110;
23. FS.P.102;
24. Vide, TM.P.16;
25. E.D.111. P.37;
26. TA.P.55;

27. R.Tr.P.529, fn.4;
28. CCIM.Intr.P.6; FMI.P.87; fn.1;
29. Chronicles.P.78;
30. Page,3;
31. Page, 161;
32. Vide,TFM.P.87 - Mr. Habibulla writes in his book that Sultan Aram Shah's reign"devoid of any other recorded interest, lasted not more than eight months".
33. TA.P.65; MT.P.61;- MR.P. 297; TF.P.64; Kh.T.P.190;
34. Vide, Taj-ul-Maasir(MS),ff.300-301;
35. TN.P.141;
36. Ibid;
37. Ibid;
38. FS.P.102,11.2026-2028;
39. All these manuscripts and historical works in Persian record that Aram Shah was the son of Sultan qutb-ud-din Aibak.
40. Vide also Ain-i-Akbari, vol.2.ed.Jarret and Srkar,P.307;
41. Mirza Nasrullah Khan gives a short account of Sultan Aram Shah under the headline — آرام پور قطب الدین
(Aram son of qutb-ud-din)
42. All these Manuscripts are found in the Library of Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta, except Manuscript Nos. 14 and 15 and these two are in the possession of National Library, Calcutta.
43. TJ.vol.1.328;
44. E.D.vol.111.P.37;

45. Kh.T. P.189;
46. CHI.vol.111,P.50;
47. Early Turkish Empire of Delhi, P.151; IHQ.vol.x111, 1937,
P.120;
48. A Short History of Delhi Saltanat, P.75;
49. A History of Medieval India, P.154;
50. IHQ.vol.xv, August 1936,pp.196-200;
51. Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol.2. P.358;
52. Vide, 1. Foundation of Muslim Rule in India,
by A.B.H.Habibullah
2. Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi,
by E.Thomas
3. History of India,
by V.A.Smith
4. The History of Hindostan,
by Alexander Dow
5. The History of India,
by Hon. M.Elphinstone
6. India, Past and Present,
by Shoshee Chunder Dutt
7. History of India,
by H.G.Keene
8. Medieval India Under Mohammadan Rule,
by Stanley Lane-Poole
9. History of India,
Eng.Tr .by Mirza Khalicbeg
10. Saltanat of Delhi,
by A.L.Srivastava
11. Some Aspects of Muslim Rule in India,
by R.R.Tripathy
12. The Struggle For Empire,
ed. by R.C.Majumdar
13. Lahore,
by A.Latif
14. History of India,
by A.Karim
15. A Pageant of India,
by Adolf Waley

53. TN.P.141; Minhaj clearly writes-

قصب الدين، الزعيم داري سلطان شمس الدين التمش بود و اورا پسر خوانده
بود و بداهون اورا اطلاع دادند، ملوک با اتفاق اورا از بداهون بيادردند
و بتخت نشاندند -

54. The conquest of Delhi took place in 588 A.H., and thereafter the newly founded Muslim Empire in India continued to expand till it faced a difficult situation during the reign of Sultan Aram Shah.

55. TF.P.64;

Chapter.111.

S U L T A N S H U M S - U D - D i n I L T U T M I S H .

Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish's accession

to the throne placed a mile stone on the path of the newly established Muslim empire in India. Fortune threw wagers on his way, but he eventually triumphed. His rise to power was no doubt facilitated by circumstances, but it was to a great extent due to his extraordinary courage, capacities and good qualities. A halo of romance encircles his early life. He was a favourite son of Ilam Khan¹ - a chief of Ilbari tribe in Turkistan, who traced his descent from Afra-siab of Persia. But this favourite son of Ilam Khan like Joseph, son of Jacob, incurred the hatred and jealousy of his brothers. They succeeded one day in persuading him to accompany to a horse show² and on their way sold him forcibly to a slave merchant³. He carried him to Bukhara, and sold him to a relation of Sadr-e-Jahan, the chief ecclesiastic of the city⁴. Iltutmish was then a handsome boy of only ten or twelve years. The Qazi of Bukhara treated him with utmost kindness and gave him a liberal education⁵. While serving this Qazi a very small event took place, which left a deep impression upon the mind of young Iltutmish. Minhaj thus narrates the incident:

On a certain occasion one of the members of the family gave him a piece of money and ordered to go to the bazar to buy some grapes. He went to the bazaar to buy some

grapes. He went to the bazaar and on the way lost the piece of money . Being of tender age he began to cry for fear and while he was weeping a Faqir came to him saying, 'Stop crying. You were not born to weep'. He took him by the hand, purchased some grapes for him and asked to make a promise, 'When you attain power and domination you will always regard the darwesh, ascetics and saints with reverence and watch over their weal'. And the boy gave him a promise.⁶

Henceforth, Iltutmish always showed respect to the Faqirs and did his best to maintain their right.⁷ His love for the mystics and mysticism continued to grow with the passage of time, and he loved and honoured the holy persons throughout his life.

After the death of the Qazi of Bukhara, Iltutmish was again exposed for sale and a merchant named⁸ Haji Bukhara took him to Baghdad. This city was then a great spiritual centre. One night a mystic party was organised in the house of this slave merchant. Many eminent mystics attended the function and the Chief Guest was Qazi⁹ Hamid-ud-din Nagori. Iltutmish got a rare opportunity to serve them. His duty was to remove the burnt wicks from the candle, and this duty he performed so seriously in his tender age that he passed the whole night without a wink of¹⁰ sleep. His devotion to the mystics earned for him their good wishes and blessings and Iltutmish showed more respects to the saints. Thereafter, he never missed an oppor-

tunity to meet them. One day while he was offering "naz-rana" (offerings) to Sheikh Shihab-ud-din Suharwardi, the great saint in his ecstasy proclaimed,

" I see the gleam of royalty on the forehead of this boy". 11

Then he directly said to his devotee,

" In this worldly empire of yours, religion, too, will be safe". 12

At the same time another derwesh, who was present there and was known by the name Sheikh Auhaḍ-ud-din, also blessed him.¹³ And confirming these reports about the prophecy of the holy persons, Sheikh Nizam-ud-din Aulia, the celebrated saint of Delhi made these observations:

او خدمت شیخ شہاب الدین سپہرودی را و شیخ اوحہ الدین کرمانی را رحمۃ اللہ علیہ
در یافتہ بود و یکے از اینہما گفتہ بود کہ تو بادشاہ خواہی بود۔ 14

Trans:

He (Iltutmish) had gained access to Sheikh Shihab-ud-din Suharwardi and Sheikh Auhaḍ-ud-din Kirmani (May God bless them). And one of them predicted that he would be a king.

Iltutmish as a boy was also blessed by the celebrated saint of Ajmer, Khawaja Muin-ud-din Chishti. This lost child of Ilam Khan, one day drew the attention of the Khwaja Sahab, who remarked: "This boy will be the ruler of Delhi".¹⁵ And the prophecy of the saints proved to be true.

Haji Bokhara kept Iltutmish for sometimes and when

he could fetch a profit he sold him to Jamal-ud-din Chust¹⁶ Qaba. He carried him with another slave named Aibak to¹⁷ Ghazni. When Sultan Shihab-ud-din heard of young Iltutmish's personal grace and intelligence, he wished to purchase him, and fixed one thousand Dinars for the young slaves¹⁸. The merchant could not accept the royal offer¹⁹, for it was for the first time that a young and handsome Turk was brought to Ghazni for sale²⁰. He demanded one thousand Dinars for each slave. The Sultan did not agree to pay such a high price and the merchant did not agree to lower his price. His attitude infuriated the Sultan and he issued a royal firman prohibiting the sale of the two slaves in Ghazni²¹. Therefore, none of his subjects in the Ghorian Capital dared to²² buy them. Jamal-ud-din Chust Qaba remained in the Capital for one year, but could not find a customer²³. Being disappointed, he at last returned to Bukhara with his slaves²⁴. After three years he again came back to Ghazni and prolonged his stay for one year²⁵. He was in search of good customer. At that time Qutb-ud-din Aibak, the Viceroy of Sultan Shihab-ud-din in Hindustan, reached Ghazni after the conquest of Naharwala(Gujrat)²⁶. When Qutb-ud-din Aibak heard about Iltutmish and became acquainted with the matter concerning his sale, he wished to buy him and therefore he requested the Sultan to grant him special permission to buy the slave²⁷.

The Sultan could not ignore the wish of his most favourite slave and he told him that he might purchase the slaves by carrying them to Delhi²⁸ as a royal decree was already issued prohibiting the sale of any one of the slaves in Ghazni. Qutb-ud-din Aibak, therefore, left Nizam-ud-din Mohammed at Ghazni and asked him to bring Jamal-ud-din Chust Qaba to Delhi with his two slaves. When Qutb-ud-din Aibak reached the Indian Capital, he purchased the two slaves for one lac²⁹ Jitals. He changed the name of the slave, who was called Aibak and named him Tamghaj³⁰. He appointed him the Amir of Tabarhindah and in this capacity he well served him, but unfortunately he lost his life while fighting for his master against Taj-ud-din Yaldüz³¹.

Of the two slaves Iltutmish received special favour of Qutb-ud-din Aibak. He treated him with kindness and loved him no less than his own children³². Iltutmish continued to gain his master's favours and confidence day by day. He was first appointed Sir-i-Jandar³³ and soon thereafter he was promoted to the rank of Amir-i-Shikar³⁴. When Gwalior was conquered Qutb-ud-din Aibak entrusted its government to him and made it his Iqta(fief)³⁵ and after sometimes added to it the Iqtas of Barn and the adjacent territories³⁶.

As a governor, Iltutmish well managed all the

territories placed under his control. The Indian Viceroy was very much impressed by his valour and virtues. Being satisfied, he granted him new promotion and at last made him also the governor of Badaun.³⁷ When Sultan Shihab-ud-din marched against the rebellious Khokars and Qutb-ud-din Aibak followed him, Iltutmish, too, reached the battlefield from Badaun at the head of a large force³⁸ to render all possible help to his Master's Master. In this war Iltutmish exhibited such extraordinary courage that after the suppression of the Khokars' revolt, Sultan Shihab-ud-din personally rewarded him and asked his Viceroy to make him a free man.³⁹ The Sultan advised him to treat Iltutmish with utmost love and expressing his own opinion about him, he also presaged that he would serve a great purpose in future.⁴⁰ Qutb-ud-din Aibak immediately granted him the letter of manumission,⁴¹ and thereafter his bounty in favour of Iltutmish never found an ebb. He always kept him before his eyes and called him his son.⁴² When he became Sultan of Hindustan, his adopted son found him a very kind patron and he steadily continued to prosper under his patronage till he acquired the status of Amir-ul-Umara,⁴³ the highest dignity in the Saltanat. What is more ! Suppressing the claim of his own son Aram Shah, Qutb-ud-din Aibak once expressed his desire that Iltutmish should succeed him and he hoped that he would well govern the empire after his death.⁴⁴

It was from the position as the governor of Badaun that Iltutmish had proceeded to obtain the Crown of Delhi that was offered to him by the leading dignitaries of the Capital headed by Ali Ismail⁴⁵. This Crowning success⁴⁶ of the "nursling of intelligence thrown into slavery" was startling indeed, especially in view of the fact that it had its background in some saying of the great saints.

With the defeat and disappearance of Sultan Aram Shah, a formidable rival of Sultan Iltutmish was no doubt removed. But still he had to face a very difficult situation, for the new empire of Hindustan was not only far from being consolidated, but was also threatened by the hostile attitude of many powerful Amirs and military officers, who made no secret of their intentions. Nasir-ud-din Qubacha and Taj-ud-din Yalduz aspired to obtain Hindustan as rightful heirs of the late Sultan Shihab-ud-din⁴⁷. Besides, the Hindu Rajas, who had bowed to the military force of the Muslim conquerors, were no longer confounded and spell-bound by the successive victories of the Muslims. They were now fretting to regain control over their lost territories and some of them, taking advantage of the mutual rivalries of Muslims, had actually re-established themselves in their previous positions. Thus Raja Govinda, a grand son of Rai Pithora, regained Ranthambore,

and ruled there as an independent ruler.⁴⁸ Kalinjar was recovered by Chandelas⁴⁹ and Gwalior slipped back into the hands of Raja Malik Deo, who ruled peacefully from 1220-⁵⁰ to 1230 A.D. A Chauhan Raja ruled over Jalor Mandor, Baranor, Tatnapur, Sanchor, Kher, Ramsin, and Bhinmal and received the tributes from the proud Turushkas.⁵¹ Even Badaun was lost to Muslims⁵² and petty chiefs were hoisting the flag of rebellion in Alwar, Ajmer, Bayana, Thanger and Doab.⁵³ In the eastern part of the empire, too, the situation was no better.⁵⁴ Iltutmish in reality seems to preside over a liquidated empire and not over an integrated one that was left by Qutb-ud-din Aibak.

In the face of heavy odds, Sultan Iltutmish, however, did not voluntarily surrender the Crown. On the contrary, he proceeded to deal with the gloomy situation with courage and determination. He first consolidated his position in Delhi and around it. After the suppression of the revolt and destruction of the power of Sir-i-Jandar⁵⁵ and his associates, he moved out of his capital to deal with his other enemies. His most formidable foes were Nasir-ud-din Qubacha and Taj-ud-din Yalduz. The two were highly respected slaves of Sultan Shihab-ud-din, who had nominated them as his successors in Sind and Ghazni⁵⁶ respectively. On becoming ruler of Ghazni, Taj-ud-din Yalduz

had harassed Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak and after his death created troubles for his son and successor, Sultan Aram Shah. Taking advantage of weak hold of Sultan Aram Shah on his father's empire, Taj-ud-din Yalduz had even appropriated Lahore⁵⁷. But when the incompetent successor of Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak lost his empire in a decisive battle of Jun to Sultan Iltutmish, he immediately gave recognition to the new Sultan of Hindustan by sending a special envoy to the Delhi Court⁵⁸. He also concluded with him a treaty of peace and friendship⁵⁹. This treaty stipulated among others that they would respect the boundaries of each other and Lahore would remain in the possession of Taj-ud-din Yalduz⁶⁰.

Sultan Iltutmish kept his pledge, but after some time an event led to the destruction of the treaty of friendship⁶¹, and therefore, Iltutmish and Yalduz could not come to friendly terms again. It so happened that the Shah of Khwarizm made a surprise attack upon Ghazni and drove Yalduz out of his Capital⁶². Yalduz fled for safety towards Kirman and Shewran. While he was roaming as a fugitive, he resolved to compensate himself by acquiring Hindustan, if possible through aggression⁶³. With this end in view, he first occupied Punjab with Thaneswar⁶⁴. And then he sent an envoy to Delhi with such a message as would provoke the

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wrath of Iltutmish. So far he succeeded and in rage the
Indian Emperor marched against him at the head of a large
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force. Consequently a severe battle took place at Tarain
in 612 A.H./1215 A.D., and it ended only when Yalduz was
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completely ruined. He suffered defeat and fell into the
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hands of the victor. By a royal firman he was carried to
Delhi and from there he was sent to Badaun, where he re-
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mained a captive till he died. He was buried in the same
70
town. His death removed one of the potent dangers to Del-
hi Saltanat. Qutb-ud-din Aibak, no doubt, had attempted
to remove this danger, but it was Iltutmish who triumphed
over it and finally rescued the Saltanat from the Central
Asian power politics. After this crowning victory over Taj-
ud-din Yalduz, Iltutmish found some respite to deal with
his other enemies and complete the unfinished work of his
great predecessor.

In 614 A.H./1217 A.D., Iltutmish marched
against Nasir-ud-din Qubacha, who was also a son-in-law of
71
Qutb-ud-din Aibak. He was always in conflict with Iltutmish
72
for the possession of Lahore, Tabarhindah and Kuhram and
every time he suffered defeat. 73
The news of Taj-ud-din Yal-
diz's discomfiture and imprisonment greatly surprised him
and actuated him to make preparations to defend his Sal-
tanat. After his victory over Taj-ud-din Yalduz, Iltutmish

collected his forces to destroy the power of Nasir-ud-din Qubacha, who had moved forward to Multan.⁷⁴ The royal army immediately marched forward from Tarain to Multan.⁷⁵ Nasir-ud-din Qubacha was frightened as he heard the news of the arrival of the royal forces and he fled away for safety to Lahore.⁷⁶ Iltutmish pursued him and a battle took place in the vicinity of Mansurah by the side of the river Chinab. Here, too, Iltutmish won a grand victory.⁷⁷ But it did not prove a last battle to crush Qubacha's power for ever.⁷⁸

In 615 A.H./1218 A.D., Nasir-ud-din Qubacha came into conflict with Khilji Malik, who lived in the neighbourhood of Ghazni and made inroads into the villages of Sind.⁷⁹ The Malik, who suffered defeat, sought asylum in the camp of Sultan Iltutmish. The Sultan took up their cause, marched against Nasir-ud-din Qubacha and drove him back to his kingdom.⁸⁰ Thereafter he returned to Delhi.⁸¹

While Iltutmish was engaged in consolidating his power and internal peace, the news of Chingis Khan's appearance on the Indian soil flashed across the northern frontiers. Defeated by the Mongol leader, Sultan Jalal-ud-din Mangbarani, the last Shah of Khwarizm, had already reached the River Indus,⁸² but as he was pre-

paring to cross it, the Mongol overtook him and surrounded him.⁸³ Mangbarni did not lose heart and performed a rare heroic feat as he 'whipped his mount and caused it to leap into the water from a distance of two ells or more..... and crossing the great river like a fiery lion he reached the shore of safety'.⁸⁴ This event took place in the month of Rajab, 618 A.H/ Aug-September 1221 A.D.⁸⁵ For his heroism the Shah of Khwarizm received applause even from his most ferocious enemy. Chingis Khan marvelled at Mangbarni's extraordinary courage and said to his sons, "Such sons should a father have!"⁸⁶ He sent an army immediately behind the Shah to capture him dead or alive as he crossed the Indus. And he himself stayed at Koh-i-Paya. From this place he sent his special envoy to Delhi to confer with Sultan Iltutmish and inform him that his forces would march through Hindustan, because he wanted to reach the distance country of China by way of Koh-i-⁸⁷ Karachal and Kamrud.

Shortly Sultan Iltutmish received also Ain-ul-Mulk, the envoy of Shah Jalal-ud-din Mangbarni.⁸⁸ The Shah meanwhile had crossed the Indus and proceeded in the direction of Delhi and was at a distance of two or three day's journey from the Capital.⁸⁹ The envoy brought a special message from the Shah of Khwarizm, which he con-

veyed to the Sultan. The message was the following:

" The vicissitude of fortune have established my right to approach thy presence and guest of my sort arrive but rarely. If therefore the drinking place of friendship be purified upon other side and cup of fraternity filled to the brim and we bind ourselves to aid and assist one another in weel and woe, then shall all our aims and objects be attained and when our opponent realise the concord that exists between us, the teeth of thair resistance will be blunted". 90

The Shah of Khwarizm, no doubt, wanted to make a military pact with the Indian ruler, for thereby he hoped to reply effectively to the Mongol's menace.⁹¹ With this end in view he also requested the Sultan to select for him a place in which he might remain for a few days.⁹²

Iltutmish found himself between the devil and the deep sea. He could neither ignore the message of Chingis Khan, nor throw into the wind the letter of friendship that he received from the Shah of Khwarizm. For sometimes he brooded over the matter and at last resolved to put into effect a policy of dignified aloofness and strict neutrality.⁹³ For he knew that both the applicants were great warriors and hostility of any one of them would bring unseen disaster upon the newly established empire of Hindustan. Sagacious and wise as he was, the Indian ruler perceived that if given a chance the Shah would certainly establish the Khwarizmian hegemony in India. He was not

only a soldier par excellence, but also a monarch enjoying international fame as well as having better claims to wield the royal sceptre than Sultan Iltutmish. His brief sojourn in Delhi would easily excite his nobles and create favourable situation for the Shah to usurp the throne of Delhi. The Shah's success against the Sultan was anticipated owing to the fact also that Sultan Iltutmish was in a vortex of countless difficulties and was in constant conflict with his enemies in his own country. Taj-ud-din Yalduz, was, of-course, dead, but the Khokars were the eternal foe of the Sultan of Delhi from the time of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. Again, Nasir-ud-din Qubacha looked upon Sultan Iltutmish as his great rival and the Rajputs were no longer in a mood to submit before the Sultan. Therefore, Iltutmish perceived that if a triple alliance existed by virtue of co-operation between his opponents - Jalal-ud-din Mangbarni (the Shah of Khwarizm), Nasir-ud-din Qubacha and the Khokars - his cause would be lost for ever in India. For this reason, he dreaded the presence of the Shah in India. And he was no less afraid of Chingis Khan, who had so far turned the great and prosperous Khwarizmian empire into a waste land and was denounced as the scourge of God.⁹⁴

In pursuance of this policy of strict neu-

trality, Iltutmish first put Ain-ul-Mulk (the Shah's
envoy) to death,⁹⁵ and sent a message to the Shah with only
offerings of food, which disclosed the news of death. He
did not give any letter of friendship which the Shah had
so earnestly desired.⁹⁶ He excused himself for not providing
him accomodation in Hindustan on the ground that its cli-
mate would not suit him and expressed his willingness to
assign a place in the region of Delhi only when he would
succeed in crushing the refractory elements.⁹⁷

Iltutmish's reply did not please the Shah of
Khwarizm and being disappointed proceeded towards upper
India.⁹⁸ There he collected 10,000 men, ravaged the country
of Jud and secured a vast booty.⁹⁹ Next he won over the Kho-
kars and cemented his friendship by asking the Rae's dau-
ghter in marriage.¹⁰⁰ The Rae not only accepted the matri-
monial alliance, but also sent his own son with an army to
render all possible help to him.¹⁰¹ The Shah treated the
Prince with great affection and conferred upon him the
title of Qatlaque Khan.¹⁰² The Khokars's Chief appreciated
the intentions and friendly gesture of the Shah, because
he wanted to utilize his powers and services against his
powerful enemies - Nasir-ud-din Qubacha and Sultan Iltut-
mish. Taking advantage of the new friendship, the Rae aspi-
red to humiliate and crush Nasir-ud-din Qubacha and his op-

portunity came when the Shah of Khwarizm sent an army against Qubacha under the command of Ozbeg Tai.¹⁰³ Nasir-ud-din Qubacha's army was defeated and dispersed, but the ruler of Sind managed to escape to Multan.¹⁰⁴

The Shah of Khwarizm sent an army to Multan and demanded the release of the son and daughter of Amir Khan, who had fallen into his hands after the great battle of Indus.¹⁰⁵ Nasir-ud-din Qubacha released them, but at the same time he requested the Shah not to molest his territories again.¹⁰⁶

The Shah of Khwarizm next retired to Uchcha, but finding the heat of the place unbearable passed his days in Balala and Nikala, the islands of Bhakkar.¹⁰⁷ In the meantime, he captured Prasraver (Pasrur in Punjab),¹⁰⁸ but shortly he received the news that the Mongols were advancing towards him.¹⁰⁹ He, therefore, decided to leave India and for the expenses of his long journey demanded "Shoe-money", from Nasir-ud-din Qubacha.¹¹⁰ The ruler of Sind not only refused to comply with his request but also made a surprise attack upon him for the breach of faith. In the ensuing battle that hardly lasted for an hour, the Shah fought with his usual bravery, but in the thick of battle he received the news that Chingis Khan's forces were not very far from him.¹¹¹ In

haste he left the place and reached Uchcha, which he destroyed when he found its people hostile to him.¹¹² From there he advanced to Deval, Damrilla and Chalsar and ravaged them.¹¹³ Thereafter, he attacked Naharwala, where he left a sign of his exploits in the form of a mosque.¹¹⁴ As the Mongols were closely following him and the internal affairs of his empire demanded his immediate presence, the Shah departed from India by way of Makran and reached Kirman. He did not live long in his native land and died in 629 A.H./1231 A.D.¹¹⁵ The Shah's presence was always a source of great anxiety for Sultan Iltutmish and so long as he remained in India, the Sultan could not put into effect his plan of consolidating his power in the northern part of the country. But in one respect the Shah's military actions proved a blessing in disguise for Sultan Iltutmish, for they helped him to destroy the power of his formidable foe, Nasir-ud-din Qubacha.

Chingis Khan, too, did not long stay near Indus. First he could not tolerate the rising temperature of the place and feared its effect upon his army in the form of disease and death. Secondly, he was greatly perturbed by the news of a great revolt in Tanget that was situated near his mother country.¹¹⁶ Thirdly, his mind was disturbed by evil omens. This great conqueror was a humble victim

of superstition. He was in the habit of discovering by some curious means the auspicious moments whenever he proceeded on his expeditions or decided to accomplish any great deed. In India, too, he was constantly burning ¹¹⁷ shoulder bones of sheep in order to get sign for the commencement of his march, but he could not get permission, and at last gave up his scheme of conquest. ¹¹⁸ He then decided to leave India and returned from Koh-i-Paya of Gibari. ¹¹⁹ He retired to Perwan where he spent the summer of 619 A.H./1222 A.D. ¹²⁰ Thenceforth, he never entertained any scheme of crossing the Indus and gain control of Hindustan. He died in 624 A.H./1226., at the age of sixty-six. ¹²¹

After the departure of Chingis Khan, Iltutmish heaved a sigh of relief and moved out of his Capital to consolidate his power in the northern regions of India. In 625 A.H./ 1227 A.D., he led his forces towards Uchcha, and Multan. ¹²² Minhaj-us-Siraj, the celebrated writer of Tabakat-i-Nasiri, had already reached there in 624 A.H./1226 A.D., from Khorasan as a refugee owing to the fear of Mongol's atrocities. ¹²³ Iltutmish reached the fort of Uchcha in Rabi.i. 625 A.H./1227 A.D. ¹²⁴ Nasir-ud-din Qubacha was then encamped at Amrut. ¹²⁵ He received the news of advancing imperial army and prepared to reply to the challenge thrown at him. ¹²⁶ But in the encounter that followed, he suffered defeat and fled to Thanker. ¹²⁷ Sultan Iltutmish's

veteran nobles like Malik Izz-ud-din Mohammad Salari, Malik Khazil Khan Sanjar Sultani, approached the fort with their forces and the royal camp was pitched in front of ¹²⁸it. The Sultan sent his Prime Minister, Nizam-ul-Mulk Mohammad Junaidi to deal with Nasir-ud-din Qubacha and the imperial forces fought for two months and twenty seven days near Uchcha. The fort of Uchcha at last capitulated on 28th Jam. 1.625 A.H/6th May 1227 A.D. ¹²⁹After his defeat, Nasir-ud-din Qubacha wished to make peace with the Sultan. Therefore, he sent his son Malik Ala-ud-din Bahram Shah to Sultan Iltutmish and also sent for him his treasures and ¹³¹servants. In the meantime, however, the Sultan subjugated all the territories upto the bank of the great river. The Chief of Deval and Sind also ¹³²submitted. After these victories Sultan Iltutmish returned to ¹³³Delhi.

Nasir-ud-din Qubacha's last bid for peace and friendship produced no effect on Iltutmish, for he was convinced of his complete victory over him. He, therefore, retained his son and intensified his efforts against ¹³⁴him. He received the news of the fall of Bhakkar on 22nd Jam. 11, 625 A.H/ ¹³⁵30th May 1227 A.D. Heart-broken and grief stricken Nasir-ud-din Qubacha wailed like Jacob for the absence of Joseph. He shortly after died of grief. His kingdom was annexed and Iltutmish's name was proclaimed through coins and Khutba all over Hindustan and the provinces of Khusdar and

and Makran. According to another tradition, Nasir-ud-din Qubacha drowned himself in the river Indus¹³⁷ throwing himself from the fort of Bhakkar when he saw the end of his paramountcy with the capture of Bhakkar, which was his last stronghold. Thus passed away a warlike and energetic king who ruled over Sind, Uchcha, and Multan for twenty two¹³⁸ years. With the destruction of Nasir-ud-din Qubacha's monarchy, the Indian empire under Sultan Iltutmish not only extended over a vast territory, but also the defence of its north-west frontiers became more effective as the loyal governors jealously guarded them. Another significant effect of this victory was that no buffer state now existed and the empire was directly exposed to foreign aggression, especially that of the Mongols.

In the meantime, Iltutmish kept himself fully informed about the happening in the eastern part of his empire. Qutb-ud-din Aibak's death was a signal for the dismemberment of the new Muslim empire of India and in the wake of disorders that followed Bengal became independent.¹³⁹ First Ali Mardan behaved as an independent ruler and enjoyed sovereign powers for two years.¹⁴⁰ As he inflicted countless tortures upon his subjects, his exasperated officers at last put him to death and raised¹⁴¹ Hisam-ud-din Iwaz to authority. On his accession he took

the title of Ghiyasud-din and refused to send the customary tributes to the Sultan of Delhi¹⁴². As Iltutmish was occupied with his internal problems and also with a difficult situation on his north-west frontiers, he could not take any immediate step against him. Time was favourable to Iwaz and for more than a decade he ruled as a just¹⁴³ and liberal monarch¹⁴⁴. But as soon as Iltutmish found himself free to deal with Iwaz, he proceeded against him.¹⁴⁵ It was in 622 A.H./1226 A.D., that he first led his forces towards Bihar and then marched upon Lakhnauti. Iwas offered no resistance and submitted, and presented to the Sultan thirty eight elephants^{and}/eighty lakhs of Tankas.¹⁴⁶ The Sultan celebrated this victory by introducing coins¹⁴⁷ and Khutba in his name and entrusted the government of Bengal to his eldest son, Prince Nasir-ud-din Mahmud.¹⁴⁸ Having settled the affairs of Bengal, he left for Delhi leaving behind Malik Izz-ud-din Jani and other Maliks to act as Nasir-ud-din's assistants in the administration of the conquered territories.¹⁴⁹

150

After his defeat, Iwaz had gone towards Kamrup. As soon as the news of Sultan Iltutmish's departure from Bengal reached him, he again raised the standard of revolt.¹⁵¹ Prince Nasir-ud-din Mahmud marched against him and in a bloody battle that took place in consequence, he

¹⁵²
 killed him. He obtained vast booty of which he sent a large portion to Sultan Iltutmish and distributed the rest among his nobles at delhi.¹⁵³ After the death of Iwaz, Prince Nasir-ud-din Mahmud enjoyed a peaceful reign. In recognition of his services Iltutmish sent for him one of the dresses of distinction that he had received from the Caliph of Baghdad and also a red canopy of state.¹⁵⁴ But the Prince was not destined to rule for a long time. In 626 A.H./ 1229 A.D., he fell ill and expired.¹⁵⁵

Prince Nasir-ud-din Mahmud's death was a great personal loss for Sultan Iltutmish. His dead body was carried to Delhi and was buried in a cave for which he thereafter became known as Sultan Ghari.¹⁵⁶ The contemporary historian extolled his virtues in these words:

157
 ملک ناصرالدین محمود پسر بزرگ تر سلطان شمس الدین بود۔ او بادشاہ فخر الدین
 و عالم و مایل بود۔ و در قیامت ملاوت و مبارزت و بذل و احسان۔

Trans:

Malik Nasir-ud-din Mahmud Shah was the eldest son of Sultan Shams-ud-din (Iltutmish); and he was a beneficent, intelligent, sensible, and sagacious Prince and was endowed with great energy and gallantry and was magnificent, and benevolent.

After the sudden demise of the Crown Prince insurrection again broke out in Bengal under the leadership of Balaka¹⁵⁸ Malik Khalj. Sultan Iltutmish, therefore, led an expedition to Bengal. The Sultan Succeeded against him and

and after capturing the rebel entrusted the government of Bengal to Malik Ala-ud-din Jani¹⁵⁹, and that of Bihar to Malik Tughrail Tughan Khan¹⁶⁰. He returned to Delhi in the same year.

Malik Alaud-din Jani proved a loyal viceroy of Iltutmish. He governed the province with ability for three years after which he was recalled to Delhi and was replaced by Malik Saif-ud-din Khan¹⁶¹. The new Viceroy, too, ruled for three years, but he died of poison¹⁶². He was succeeded by Malik Tughril Tughan Khan¹⁶³.

In the meantime Iltutmish kept a regular watch upon the movements of the Hindu kings, who were aspiring to regain their lost territories and had the audacity to defy his authority. It was from 623 A.H./1226 A.D., that the Sultan commenced operations against them. In that year he gained victory over the Rajputs in Ranthambore¹⁶⁴. According to a Hindu tradition the fort was not ~~not~~ conquered by any ruler though previously one hundred and seventy rulers had attempted to conquer it¹⁶⁵. Next year Iltutmish marched towards the fort of Mandu and occupied the territories upto the Swalik Hills¹⁶⁶. In this punitive expedition vast booty fell into his hands¹⁶⁷.

After his final victory over Nasir-ud-din Qu-
 bacha, Iltutmish felt himself free to put into effect a
 much more vigorous policy against the Hindu states. In 629
 A.H./¹⁶⁸1231 A.D., he directed his forces towards Gwalior.
 There Raja Malik Deo fought for eleven months with the
 royal forces.¹⁶⁹ In the course of fighting Minhaj arrived
 from Delhi.¹⁷⁰ He was ordered to deliver discourse three times
 a week, but in the month of Ramzan, he was to do so daily.
 The two great prayers of Eid were offered at three diffe-
 rent places in the army of Islam and at the front of the
 Gwalior fort prayers were conducted by Minhaj himself.¹⁷¹ The
 Raja fought with all the resources at his disposal, but
 the fort was eventually captured on Tuesday 26th Safar 630/
 A.H./¹⁷²12th December, 1232 A.D. The Raja managed to escape, but
 eight hundred rebels received punishments at the door of the
 royal tent.¹⁷³ The Sultan then made elaborate arrangements
 for its permanent conquest. Zia-ud-din Mohammad Junaidi was
 appointed its Chief Justice, Rashid-ud-din, the Commander-
 in-Chief was appointed its Kotwal and Minhaj was selected
 as the Law officer.¹⁷⁴ The Sultan also richly rewarded the
 other deserving candidates and then returned to Delhi.¹⁷⁵

In 631 A.H./ 1234 A.D., Iltutmish led his
 army for the conquest of Malwa and captured the fort and
 city of Bhilsa.¹⁷⁶ After this victory, he went to Ujjain,¹⁷⁷

where a temple of Maha Kal Deo was a memorial of remote past recalling the age of Raja Vikramajit¹⁷⁸. Having subjugated Ujjain, the Sultan returned to Delhi and brought with him many relics of the past including a statue of Raja Vikramajit and the stone (idol) of Maha Kal¹⁷⁹.

In 633 A.H. / 1235 A.D., Sultan Iltutmish resolved to make his triumphal entry into Banian¹⁸⁰. But on his way he fell ill¹⁸¹. He, therefore, postponed his programme. He became so weak owing to his illness that he was brought to Delhi in a litter¹⁸². He reached the Capital in the morning of Wednesday in the month of Shaban¹⁸³. The royal physician treated him, but his condition continued to deteriorate so that after 19 days, he expired on Monday, 20th Shaaban, 633 A.H./30th April, 1236 A.D.¹⁸⁴. This expedition to Banyan thus proved to be the last expedition of Sultan Iltutmish, who from the commencement of his reign till the closing years of his life fought relentlessly with his foes for the preservation, consolidation and extension of his empire.

Sultan Iltutmish was no doubt one of the best generals of the 13th century. His marvellous courage and determination not only enabled him to keep in tact the prosperous empire that was created and left by his father-in-

law, Qutb-ud-din Aibak, but he also extended its boundaries so that it extended from Peshawar to Bengal including the whole of upper India, and touching the extremities of Gujrat.¹⁸⁵

Like Qutb-ud-din Aibak, Iltutmish tried his best to make his empire prosperous and progressive as well as great. But he was the first ruler to build up a fabric of a definite system of administration in India. Honouring the democratic principles of Islam, he evolved a system of government that was but a replica of the government of the Persian monarchy in Asia. By now some of the classics of Muslim political theories such as Qabus Nama (1082 A.D.),¹⁸⁶ Siyasat Nama (1092 A.D.), had appeared and guided the Muslim rulers. Iltutmish appreciated these works and procured from Baghdad two other famous books - Adab-us-Salatin and Maasir-us-Salatin.¹⁸⁷ He consulted also his own scholars who were well versed in Muslim political theories and administrative principles. Moreover, he kept in view the Indian situation and proceeded in his task after realising the needs and problems of his empire. The government, which he formed, was like that of Persia - a centralised government - but it was not closely knitted, for he greatly respected the Amirs who contributed towards the preservation and extension of his empire. He was often heard saying:

"When the nobles stand before me, I feel ashamed at their grandeur and greatness and desire that I should descend from the throne and kiss their hands and feet".¹⁸⁸

Iltutmish attended to every paraphernalia of sovereignty. It was for the first time that a Muslim ruler, who sat on the throne of Delhi, assumed high sounding royal titles,¹⁸⁹ and produced an everlasting impression upon his people by the dazzling lustre of his crown, splendour of his court,¹⁹⁰ magnificence of his palace as well¹⁹¹ as by the stability of his government, novelty of his coins and extraordinary growth¹⁹³ of archaeological monuments.

Not only as a king, but also as a man Iltutmish endeared himself to his people. He possessed all the virtues¹⁹⁴ that were attributed to a perfect gentleman. His love for his people in particular and human beings in general was so great that it indicated as if he was born to serve humanity. He performed his duty as a king in the day and spread the prayer-mat in the night bowing his head before the Almighty in prayers till the stars disappeared.¹⁹⁵ He combined in himself the chief attributes of Caliph Umar, Sikandar Zulqurnain, Hatim Tai, and Harun Rashid. The contemporary historian who served him, extolled his virtues in these words:

196 ان سلطان عادل باذل منصف کریم غازی مجاہد مہربان عالم پرورد عمل گستر فرید من فر
تباد نہاد کاؤں میں ناموس سکندر دولت بہرام شوکت -

Trans: Sultan Iltutmish "was just, benevolent, impartial, a zealous warrior, and hero, patron of the learned dispenser of justice, possessor of pomp like Farid-ud-din; in disposition like Kubad, in fame like Ka-us, in empire like Sikandar, and in majesty like Bahram.

As regards his piety and love for the pious persons Minhaj again writes:

197 غالب طراز آن است که هرگز پادشاهی محسن اقتدار و آب دیده و تعلیم علماء و مشایخ مثل او از مادر خلقت در تهاط سلطنت نیامده -

Trans: Never was a sovereign of such exemplary faith and of such kindness and reverence towards the recluse, devotees and doctors of religion and law from the mother of creation, ever wrapped in the sadling bands of domain.

And of-course, his esoteric attachment to the saints and sufis, which developed in him when he was a mere boy, never relaxed and he frankly admitted his rise to power due to their blessings and prophesies. Describing the event of his early life, he one day told his nobles:

198 هر دولت و سلطنت که یافتم از نظر آن درویش یافتم

Trans:and all the prosperity and blessings which I acquired, I acquired through the compassionate regard of that Darvesh (who gave to young Iltutmish some grapes).

Isami records in his Futuh-us-Salatin that during the reign of Sultan Iltutmish a tourist came to Delhi and he presented to the Sultan Aab-i-Zmzam i.e the holy water from Mecca, The Sultan received the tourist with kind -

ness and showed great respect to him. There were other such persons who received royal favours. If any mystic or Sufi, expressed his willingness to visit the palace, he regarded it as a great honour for himself. Sultan Iltutmish was himself a great mystic. An anecdote recorded in the Malfuzat²⁰⁰ testifies to the mystic bend of his mind. One day Iltutmish was going to play Chaugan in Badaun. In the play-ground two gates were fixed. When the game commenced and as he was throwing the ball, his glances fell upon a gate where an old man was standing and begging. He saw this beggar, but did not give any thing to him and moved on. He reached the second gate and there he saw a young man who was calmly watching the game. He opened his purse and gave him some gold pieces. At that time he said to his companions, "Do you know why I did not give any thing to the old beggar, while I gave to this young man who did not ask any thing from me?" The companions who were astonished on seeing this curious standard of charity expressed their inability to understand his motives. He then explained to them:

201 اگر خداست من بودی پیرا دادی، پس کرامتید خدا میدهند من چکنم

Trans:

According to my choice, I could have given to the old man, but whatever a man receives, he receives it according to the dictates of God. I'm but helpless.

It is also recorded in the Malfuzat (Hagiological

works) that once Iltutmish resolved to construct a tank. With this end in view, he visited the house of his Pir, Khwaja Bakhtiyar Kaki and requested him to accompany him, so as to select a suitable place for the tank. The Sheikh agreed and they walked together till they reached a place, for which he obtained the approval of his Pir (spiritual guide). When the night came, Iltutmish saw a dream in which the Prophet ordered him to construct the tank where he would find the foot-print of his horse. The Sultan woke up, while the darkness of night was still prevailing, and visited the house of his Pir to whom he narrated his dream. They both began to search the place immediately, though with a candle in hand and to his utter surprise the Sultan found the water coming out of the place indicated in the dream. He then supervised the construction of the tank²⁰² there.

No doubt, Iltutmish deeply respected his religion, but religion did not colour his policies. He was free from the prejudices, which characterised the male population of his time and this is quite evident from the liberal education that he imparted to his daughter, Princess Raziyyah Begum.

Like Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak, Shams-ud-din Iltutmish

always behaved as a just ruler. He took the minutest care to see that justice prevailed in the remotest corner of his empire. With this end in view he would sometimes go out of his palace in the darkness of night incognito and enquire about the welfare of his people. Again, he made it a rule that any aggrieved person, who wanted that justice must prevail, must directly apply to the king by wearing the red robe prescribed for the victim of injustice and by sounding the bell of justice attached to his apartment in the palace.²⁰³ During his reign all persons were equal before the law. He did not persecute the Hindus as a fanatic. He dealt with them seriously only when they disobeyed him. He subdued the Hindu Rajas, but in many cases left them undisturbed in their kingdom, when they acknowledged his suzerainty. It was to please the vast majority of his subjects that he maintained some of their practices. For instance, in spite of the Islamic prohibition of symbols and figures of any animal and injunction in favour of simplicity, Iltutmish introduced symbols on²⁰⁴ coins, and resorted to profuse ornamentation and decoration in his buildings. It was, of course, Sultan's sense of justice that prevented him from becoming a bigot and²⁰⁵ persuaded him to adopt a policy of religious toleration. Justice and not religion influenced his policies. He loved

and honoured the saints and sufis and religious heads who were Sunnis, but did not adopt a hostile attitude towards the other sects. In a word, he ruled with Justice and Wisdom that constitute the chief attributes of a successful ruler.

Iltutmish was a great patron of arts and literature. During his reign many Madrasas and Maktabas sprang up all over the empire, where small boys and girls were taught the three "R" and were also given religious instruction for their moral development. For higher studies he established colleges, where only boys were admitted for the social custom of Purdah prevented the girls from going out of their houses after reaching the age of puberty. Mad-²⁰⁶rasah-i-Nasiri²⁰⁷ was the most famous college at Delhi, which was named after the Sultan's eldest son, Prince Nasir-ud-din Mahmud. For the promotion of learning the Sultan patronized also a large number of scholars, poets and men of letters and richly rewarded them for their commendable works. Among the literary luminaries of his time, who made memorable contributions to glorify his reign, the names of Hasan Nizami, Minhaj-us-Siraj, Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi shine forth conspicuously. And the poets whose poetical compositions were highly commended by Sultan were Nasiri, Amir Ruhani and Malik Taj-ud-din Reza. Nasiri composed a poem

consisting of 53 couplets in praise of his Sultan, which so pleased the Sultan that he gave 53,000 tankas for it. Amir²⁰⁸ Ruhani who came to Delhi from Bokhara during the great turmoil caused by Chingiz Khan paid tributes to the Sultan, when he completed the conquest of Ranthambore and his lines celebrating the victory were engraved on stone by the order of the Sultan and this stone was fixed in the conquered fort.²⁰⁹

While Iltutmish's political philosophy and sagacity were displayed in the administration of his empire, his artistic tastes found reflection in a number of buildings which won for him the title of second great builder in the Saltanat. The chief architectural works that he patronized were the following:

1. The addition of a facade to the Ajmer Mosque Known as Arhai din ka Jhomptra, 210
2. A grand extension of the Qutb-Mosque, 211
3. Tomb of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud, 212
4. Extension and completion of the world famous Qutb Minar, — 213
5. Hauz-i-Shamsi at Delhi and Badaun, 214
6. Kushak-i-Ferozi (the Turquoise Palace) and Kushak-i-Sabz (Green Palace). 215

Moreover, he beautified Delhi, the Capital of the Saltanat and provided it with all sort of amenities that were then available.²¹⁶ Delhi became a city of repute, of wealth,

and influence and acquired a position as an unrivalled city in the East. 217

Among memorable achievements of Iltutmish may also be counted the creation of a band of loyal nobles - the celebrated Shamsi Order of Forty known as "Chahalgan"²¹⁸. They formed as the main spring of his power supplying the most loyal and ablest administrators and generals. These nobles by virtue of their services and sincerity of purpose acquired such power and influence that the Crown, after the death of Iltutmish, became a monopoly in their hands. For their intrigues and activities they were looked upon as the King-makers. Whatever be the destructive role of the Forty during the reigns of Sultan Iltutmish's successors, it can be at least asserted that they were the chief supporters of Iltutmish and honestly served him to enhance his power and prestige.

Free from internal enemies and external foes, Iltutmish ruled over the vast empire of Hindustan for twenty six years. It certainly goes to his credit that his reign was glorious at home and abroad. In the nineteenth year he took another startling step to increase his power and prestige. He sought the confirmation of his royal titles from the Caliph of Baghdad. On 22nd, Rabi-ul-Awwal, 626 A.H./ 18th, Feb.

1226 A.D., the Caliph's envoy arrived at Delhi with a Robe of Honour from the Caliph and delivered it to the Emperor of Hindustan with a patent which conveyed the recognition of royal titles as "Sultan-i-Hind" i.e the Emperor of Hindue²¹⁹ stan. Such an honour not only gave a legal basis to his claims as a ruler and silenced those for ever who were likely to challenge his authority, but also placed him in the rank of the great monarchs of international reputation.²²⁰ Sultan Iltutmish announced this honour in various ways, for instance, he gave dinner parties to the distinguished citizens, issued coins bearing the name of the Caliph,²²¹ assumed some new royal titles,²²² which may be found from his inscriptions, discarded the former title of *مولیٰ ملوک التکرک و العجم* and subscribed for it *مفتخر الملوک العرب و العجم*²²³ 223

In the same year Sultan Iltutmish took another significant step. He was an absolute monarch of a vast and prosperous empire. He knew that a great empire would disappear or suffer dismemberment if the problem of succession remained unsolved. To avoid such a catastrophe he nominated his eldest son Prince Nasir-ud-din Mahmud as his successor. This formal declaration won general applause, for the Prince was good and virtuous and extremely popular among his people who looked upon him as their future Sultan.²²⁴

Iltutmish felt satisfied when the Prince gain-

ed recognition as heir-apparent of the Shamsi Empire. But he soon came to grief. Within six months of the festivities celebrating the Caliphal investiture, news arrived of the death of Prince Nasir-ud-din Mahmud.²²⁵ It nearly stunned the Sultan, but he tried to triumph over this grief and gave a second thought to the problem of ~~the~~ succession.

Henceforth, no doubt, the choice of a successor remained uppermost in his mind. Anxious to perpetuate the kingship in his family, he tried various solution and eventually resolved that his eldest daughter Princess Raziyyah Begum must succeed him.²²⁶ For this Argus-eyed Sultan perceived that after his death the ~~Saltnat~~ would be safe only in her hands. He was on the point to settle this difficult problem of his successor that death removed him from the scene on Monday 20th Shaban, 633 A.H./ 30th April, 1235²²⁷ A.D. The entire nation mourned for this great king and after the period of mourning was over, they buried him in a tomb near the imperial mosque - Quwat-ul-Islam.²²⁸

A Chorus of praise surrounded Sultan Iltutmish during his life-time and has been echoed in tones of varying enthusiasm by subsequent historians. A wise and just statesman, a skilled general, he guided the destiny of the newly established empire for nearly three decades with re-

markable success. The next thirty years proved to be most crucial in the life of this empire where six of his successors ruled in quick succession. Trained in the tradition of Sultan Shihab-ud-din (Mohammad Ghorī) and Qutb-ud-din Aibak he solved the problems of his time with patience, tact and diplomacy. Always victorious in war, he left behind a vast empire. An iron man, he blessed his empire with definite aims and policies and a stable government that ensured its possession in his own dynasty till the last decade of the thirteenth century and its longevity, despite many vicissitudes, till the first quarter of the sixteenth century. A well wisher of human beings, Iltutmish did his best to make his subjects happy and prosperous and his country progressive and great. After his death and even long after the disappearance of his dynasty people recalled to mind his "prosperous and glorious reign". In his death Muslim India lost a many sided genius, a virtuous man, a great mystic, who after receiving the prophetic gift of a Crown from the great saints of his time, proved to be an excellent monarch.

NOTES.

1. TN.P.166; TF.P.64; MR. P.298;
2. TN.P.167; MT.P.62 - according to Badauni he was persuaded to accompany his brothers upto a garden for picnic. TF. P.64;
3. TN.P.167; on the basis of another tradition Minhaj also informs that Iltutmish's sellers were his uncle's sons.
4. TN.P.167;
5. Ibid;
6. Ibid;
7. Ibid;
8. TN.P.168;
9. TF.P.67;
10. Ibid;
11. Siyar-ul-Arifin, f.27, *quoted by Khaliq Ahmed Nizami in Studies in Medieval Indian History and Culture, See also RP. P.114.*
12. Ibid;
13. Ibid;
14. FF.f.622;
15. Sair-ul-Aqtab, P.134; Fawaid-us-Salikin, f. 810b; *quoted by Khaliq Ahmed Nizami in Studies in Medieval Indian History and Culture. See also RP.P.115*
16. TN.P.167; TF.P.65;
17. Ibid; 18. TN.168; TA.P.56;
19. TN.P.168; TF.P.65; MR.P.298;
20. TA.P.56; Badauni is silent on this point;
21. TN.P.168; TA.P.56; MT.P.62; TF.P.65;
22. TN.P.168; TA.P.56; TF.P.65;

23. TN.P.168; TF.P.65;
24. Ibid;
25. TN.P.168; Minhaj is the only writer, who mentions "three years" and other writers including Ferishta are silent on this point.
26. TN.P.168; TF.P.65; According to Minhaj, the Indian Viceroy was accompanied by Malik Naseer-ud-din Hus-sain, but Ferishta gives his name as Malik Naseer-ud-din Khermail and here he follows Tabaqat-i-Akbari.
27. Ibid;
28. Ibid;
29. Ibid;
30. TN.P.169;
31. Ibid;
32. TN.P.169; FS.P.89;
33. TN.P.169; Ferishta in his Tarikh does not mention Iltutmish's first position as Sir-i-Jandar. Sir-i-Jandars were generally most trustworthy slaves. Sultan Shihab-ud-din was first Sir-i-Jandar to his brother, Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din.
34. TN.P.169; TF.P.65;
35. Ibid;
36. Ibid;
37. Ibid; at this time Badaun was considered as the most important fief in the Saltanat.
38. TN.P.169; FS.P.89; MT.P.63; TF.p.65;
39. TN.P.170; TF.P.65;
40. Ibid;

- بهر خاندان ایک مرآت ترک را * بدارش خط عتیق فرما سرور
محب بندہ نر لفظ پروردگار * شد آزار پیش از خداوندگار
41. FS.P.90;
42. TN.P.169; TA.P.57; FS.P.89; MR.P.299;
43. TF.P.65;
44. TN.P.141;
45. TN.P.170; TA.P.57; TF.P.64; MT.P.61-Badauni gives no detail; MR.P.299
 سید سلار علی اسماعیل دادر * سید سلار علی اسماعیل دادر * سید سلار علی اسماعیل دادر
 سید سلار علی اسماعیل دادر * سید سلار علی اسماعیل دادر * سید سلار علی اسماعیل دادر
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46. Ain.P.160;
47. TN.P.141; vide also pages 131-132 and 142-144;
48. IA.(1819), P.62; Raja Govinda was succeeded by his son Vallana Deva. Though he recognized the Sultan as his suzerain, he in reality retained his independence and maintained only a semblance of loyalty. See IA.(xvi), P.86;
49. Report xxi,p.49-52; IA.(1918), P.241;
50. Report,11.P.315;
51. EI(ix),pp72-73; Samrasimha was succeeded by his son Udaya Simha in 1250 A.D. He ruled over Nadol, Jalor, Barmer, Surachand, Kher, Ramsen, Bhinmal, Ratnapur, Sanchor, Mandor and Watahraduda. He curbed the pride of Trushka.
52. EI.(I), pp.61-62;
53. TN.pp.171-173;
54. TN.P.141-"The territory of Lakhmauti was appropriated by the Khalji Maliks and Sultans".
55. Taj (MS),f.303; Hasan Nizami writes: -Sar-jandar Turki; TF.P.64- Ferishta calls this rebel as Sardar-i-Jambaran, who was a Turt. He informs that two of his principal Amirs, Sanquar and Far-

Farrukh Shah, were killed and Sir-i-Jamdaran Turk fled with some others, but he was soon caught and put to the sword; TN.P.170 - Minhaj mentions this revolt in Delhi, but he does not give the name of its leader and officers who participated in it. He simply writes that some of the Turks, and Qutbi Amirs, who were opposed to Iltutmish's elevation as a new Sultan, were joined by some of the Muizzi Amirs and they together broke out into sedition and rebellion. The new Sultan, however, subdued them and put most of the leaders of the opposite party to the sword.

56. TN.P.133;

57. TN.P.170;

58. TN.P.170 - According to Minhaj the envoy presented to Sultan Iltutmish *چتر و دربارش* i.e., a canopy of state and other emblems of royalty. Taj-ud-din Yalduz was, at this time, a powerful monarch. He aspired for Sultan Iltutmish's friendship in order to silence him so that he might not object to his forcible occupation of Lahore; he was fully conversant with the Indian situation and hoped that such a recognition would please the Indian ruler as some of the Turks and Qutbi and Muizzi Amirs regarded him as an-usurper. FS.P.102-103; according to Isami Yalduz sent - *یک چتر و دربارش* to establish friendly relations with Iltutmish and the Indian rulers replied appreciating his sentiments.

59. TN.P.170; FS.P.102;

60. FS.P.103;

61. Ibid;

62. FS.P.103; TF.P.65;

63. TF.P.65;

64. Ibid;

65. Ibid;

66. Ibid;

67. TN.P.171; TA.P.58; MT.P. 63; TF.P.65;

68. TN.P.171;
69. Ibid;
70. Ibid; MT.P.62. According to Hasan Nizami, Taj-ud-din Yalduz was wounded by an arrow shot by Muayyaid-ul-Mulk. Vide, Taj(E.D.11), P.239. But this book written at that period does not mention how and when Taj-ud-din expired. Some writers inform that he was kept at Badaun till he died, but others state that he was put to death in the same year.
71. TN.P.171; TA.P.58; TF.P.65;
72. Ibid;
73. TN.P.170;
74. TN.P.142;
75. FS.P.108;
76. Taj.(E.D.11), P.240;
77. TF.P.65;
78. From Futuh-us-Salatin it appears that only one battle decided the fate of Nasir-ud-din Qubacha(vide, P.108). But Yahya in his Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi mentions two. (vide, P.18), and Badauni in his Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh makes three.
79. TF.P.65;
80. Ibid;
81. Ibid.
82. TN.P.171;
83. TJ.P.410;
84. Ibid;
85. HM.P.90;
86. TJ.P.411; HM.P.90;

87. TN.(R.Trans.), P.1046;
88. TJ.P.413;
89. HM.P.90;
90. TJ.P.413;
91. Ibid;
92. Ibid;
93. Ibid;
94. This is a general opinion in the Muslim world about Chingiz Khan.
95. TJ.P.414;
96. Ibid;
97. Ibid;
98. Ibid;
99. Ibid;
100. Ibid;
101. Ibid;
102. Ibid;
103. Ibid;
104. Ibid;
105. TJ.P.415;
106. Ibid;
107. Ibid;
108. Ibid;
109. Ibid;
110. Ibid;

111. TJ.P.415;
112. Ibid;
113. TJ.P.416;
114. TJ.P.417;
115. LHP;P.444; -15th August 1231. Chingiz Khan's great -
rival Jala-ud-din Mangbarni, the last Shah of Khwa-
rizm, was a true Turkman. The causes of his failure
against the Mongols may be ascribed to a great ex-
tent to his frailties, which D'Ohson has described
in the History of the Mongols. "He had all the good
qualities of a soldier rather than a general or ru-
ler without prudence or foresight, living by pillage,
profiting by the respite allowed him by the Mongols
to attack his neighbours, given to drinking and mu-
sic, always going to bed drunk, even when the Mon-
gols were after him"? Vide, HM. P. 131.
116. TN.P.349; HM.P.91;
117. TN.P.375;
118. Ibid;
119. Ibid;
120. HM.P.91;
121. Jengiz Khan. P, 170; A literary History of Persia,P.450
18th August,1227
122. TN.P. 172;
123. TN.P.144; Madrasa-i-Ferozi was entrusted to
Minhaj by Nasir-ud-din qubacha and he was also no-
minated by him as the Qazi of the forces of Prince
Ala-ud-din, son of Nasir-ud-din qubacha.
124. TN.P.172;
125. TN.P.173;
126. Ibid;
127. Ibid;

128. TN.P.173;

129. Ibid;

130. Ibid;

131. Ibid;

132. Ibid;

133. Ibid;

134. Ibid;

135. TN.P.144. There is no mention of the fall of Bhakkar in some early Persian works. The writers only give the Hijri in which Nasir-ud-din Qubacha was defeated and a brief account that informs how his life came to an end. Vide, FS.P.108; TM.P.18;

According to the writers of Tabaqat-i- Akbari and Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Sultan Iltutmish gained victory over Nasir-ud-din Qubacha in 614, A.H., and Nasir-ud-din Qubacha was drowned in the river in 615 A.H. But these writers are wrong in giving the date. According to Minhaj-us-Siraj these events took place in 625 A.H., and this date is correct; modern writers accept it. Again it must be noticed that the exact date of the Fall of Uch given by Minhaj is confused. According to him on Page 144-

Sultan Iltutmish reached Uch in 624 A.H.; remained at Uch for two months, and 27 days and conquered Uch on Saturday, 28 Jamad.1.

But on page 173 Minhaj writes:

Sultan Iltutmish reached Uch in R.1.625 A.H. remained at Uch for one month, conquered Uch on Thursday, 28, Jamad.1. 625 A.H.

136. Taj.(E.D.11), P.242;

137. TN.P.144; TA.P.58; MT.P.64; TF.P.317;
Minhaj believes that Nasir-ud-din Qubacha drowned him-

self in the river, but Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, Badauni, and Ferishta believe that he became a victim of an accident as his ship sank into the river owing to a storm. Isami writes that he wanted to cross the river even though his soldiers had warned him. Vide, FS.P.108;

138. TN.P.144; TF.P.317;
139. TN.P.141;
140. RS.P.70;
141. Ibid;
142. Ibid;
143. Ibid;
144. Ibid. According to Minhaj he ruled over Bengal for twelve years.
145. RS.P.70; TN.P.171; TF.P.66;
146. RS.P.72(eighty thousand rupees); TA.P.58(eighty thousand tankas); TF.P.66(eighty thousand tankas). But Minhaj in his *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* on page 171 writes "treasures amounting to eighty lakhs" and does not mention the current coin.
147. op.cit;
148. TA.P.59; MT.P.64; TF.P.66- all these works inform that on this occasion Sultan Iltutmish conferred upon his eldest son the title of SULTAN, and nominated him as his successor. Minhaj does not say anything about this formal proclamation, on the contrary he informs that all the Maliks and Amirs of the Saltanat looked upon him as the Crown Prince, who would the grace the throne of the Shamsi Empire after Sultan Iltutmish's death.
149. TN.P.181;
150. RS.P. 72;
151. Ibid;

152. TN.P.180-181; RS.P.72; FS.P.119. MT.P.64; TF.P.66;
153. Ibid; according to Minhaj the Crown Prince sent from Lakhnauti sums of money in the shape of presents to all the Ulama, Sayyeds, devotees, recluses, and pious persons of the Capital and other cities and towns.
154. TN.P.181;
155. List of the Mohammadan and Hindu Monuments of Shah-Jahan abad, P.56;
157. TN.P.180;
158. TN.P.174; FS.P.120; RS.P.73. Isami writes his name simply as Balka; but in Riaz-us-Salatin his name is given as Hussamud-din Khilji. As Mr. Hodivala says some authors e.g., Wolseley Haig in Cambridge History of India, vol.iii; on page 64, following Raverty's translation of Tabaqat-i-Nasiri believe that Balka Malik Khilji was the son of Ghiyas-ud-din Iwaz. But no such statement is found in the text of Tabaqat-i-Nasiri. On the other hand, in Riaz-us-Salateen he is clearly described as one of the nobles of Mohammad Bakhtiyar Khilji. Vide, page 73. Besides, there is a coin in which Balka styles himself as Shahansha Ala-ud-din Abu Maab (Abu Ghazi) Daulat Shah bin Maudud. The date can be read as 627 A.H. (JRAS, 1873, P.367; Wright: Coinage, P.21. From this numismatic evidence it is clear that he was not a son of Iwaz. In view of these concrete evidences Mr. Hodivala's view that he might be a relative or son-in-law of Iwaz, too, is not acceptable.
159. TN.174; TA.P.60; MT.P.67; TF.P.66; RS.P.73;
160. TN.Pp.231,242. Lakhnauti and Bihar henceforth became two separate provinces;
161. RS.P.74;
162. Ibid;
163. TN.P.242;

164. TN.P.172;

165. Ibid;

166. Ibid;

167. Ibid; Minhaj gives no further details of these punitive expeditions, but in the Struggle for Empire the following account is given. "Opening the campaigns in 1226 A.D., he (Sultan Iltutmish) took Ranthambore, and Mandawar and humbled Jalor, but was repulsed with heavy losses by the Guhilots from Nagda. Rajput records speak also of his failure in an attack on the Chalukyas of Gujrat. A similar expedition conducted by one of his officers against the Chauhans of Bundi also ended in failure. When he recaptured Bayana and Thangarh and widened the Ajmer base by garrisoning the neighbouring positions of Lawab, Kasili and Sambhar, the success proved temporary for, it failed to arrest the Chauhan revival". Vide, The Struggle for Empire, page 133.

168. TN. P.174; TA.P.60; MT, P.66; TF.P.66;

169. Ibid,

170. TN.P.175;

171. Ibid;

172. TN.P.175; TA.P.60; MT.P.67; TF.P.66 : Ferishta gives the name of the Raja as Deo Bal.

173. TN.P.175;

174. Ibid;

175. Ibid; TA.P.60 - according to Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, Malik Taj-ud-din Reza, the Dabir-i-Mamlikat, composed a couplet after the conquest of Gwalior and it was engraved on a stone fixed in a door of the fort.

176. TN.P.176; FS.P.121; MT.P.67; TF.P.66;

177. Ibid;

178. Ibid;

179. TN.P.176;

180. Ibid; Badauni and Ferishta write Multan instead of Baniyan, and Yahya writes Bhilsan. See MT.P.68; TF.P.66; TM.P.20. There is no mention of Sultan Iltutmish's last expedition to any one of these places in FS, and MR. This city (Baniyan) is in the N.W.F. Province, better known to-day as Bannu.

With reference to Sultan Iltutmish's punitive expedition in Rajputana and Doab or Awdh, the Hindu sources give a different account with some details. Success of Muslim armed forces is acknowledged, but their failure, too, has been mentioned. Summing up the result of these fightings the editors of *The Struggle For Empire* say, "Most of these were, however, personal triumphs shortlived and local in effect and they could do little to help the Delhi government in reducing the extent and power of Hindu resistance". See page 133.

181. TN.P.176;

182. Ibid;

183. Ibid;

184. Ibid; This date is repeated in other Persian historical works except a few ones e.g. *Tazkirat-ul-Mulk* (MS.f.-30b, 630-شعبان), *Tarikh-i-Masumi*, p.36-26 Shaban, 633 H. In *Ganj-i-Shakar* the year of Sultan Iltutmish' death is given in the following poetical lines :

شاه شمس الدین شمس التلقا
پرتو انگن شد جو در خلد برین
رحلتش یاد حق شمس الحلال
هم بوزان شمس اعطا عطای حین

633 A.H.

(vide, page. 171)

185. In his anxiety to be brief in the account of Sultans of Delhi in Deval Rani and Khizr Khan, Amir Khusrau refers only to the battles that took place

between Indus and Malwa when he writes : *نزد ما لاه تا بهر صده سند*
See Deval Rani and Khizr Khan , P.47. *نمود از خزان تو گشت در پند*

186. A History of Persian Literature, Vol.11; pp. 214, 277;

187. RP. P. 336;

188. TF(B),P. 137; RP.336;

189. Iltutmish, for example, used these high sounding words for his title, which is found in one of his earliest inscriptions -

السلطان المعظم شهنشاه الاعظم مالك رقاب الامم سلطان السلاطين العادل شمس
الدنيا والدن غياث الاسلام والمسلمين وارث ملك سليمان ابوالمنظفرا يلقب
السلطان -

190. Trans:

The great Sultan, the mighty emperor, the master of the neck of the people, king of the just kings of the world, Shams-ud-din, Supporter of Islam, and of Musalmans, Successor of the Kingdom of Solomon, Abul- Muzaffar Aeltamsh, the Sultan. Vide, Catalogue of the Delhi Museum of Archaeology, compiled by J.P.Vogel, page,2.

190. For details read FS.P.109-110;

191. " " " AMRD. pp.38-39;

192. " " " Wright's Coinage;

193. " " " Browne's Indian Architecture;

194. Rehala.P.33;

195. TN.P.166; TA.P.63; TF.P.67. Ferishta writes that the Sultan offered regular prayers as a true Muslim.

196. TN.P.166;

197. TN.P.167;

198. TN.P.167; TF, P.67;

199. FS.pp.111-112;

200. See Fawaid-ul-Fuad, pp.211-212;

201. FF.Pp. 211-212;
202. TF.P.66; Rehala, (E.D.111), P.591; Ibn Batutah who visited Delhi in the fourteenth century gives some description of this tank after seeing it in his travelogue. "Outside Delhi is a big reservoir called after Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish. The inhabitants of Delhi take their supply of drinking water from it, and it lies near the Idgah of Delhi. It is fed by rain water and is about two miles long and a mile abroad. On its western side facing the Idgah are built platforms of stone, one higher than another. Under each platform is a dome of stone containing seats for amusement and pleasure-seekers. In the middle of the tank is a big dome of two storeys built of sculptured stone. When the water rises high in the tank the dome can be reached only by boats, but when water decreases people walk upto it. Inside the dome is a mosque where one finds faqirs most of the time. These faqirs have renounced the world relying upon God. When the water of the tank gets dried up sugarcane, cucumber, sweet calabash, melons and water melons are grown in it. The melons are small, but extremely sweet."
203. Rehala.P.33.
204. See Wright's Coinage, pp. 15-33 for Sultan Iltutmish's Coins.
205. As a true Muslim Sultan Iltutmish acted according to the quranic injunction -
 (When you decide between people, فاحكم بين الناس بالحق
 (give your decision with justice. 23. 38. 26.
206. Jafar Sharif's Qanun-i-Islam, pp. 47-50;
207. Minhaj was appointed its superintendent during the reign of Sultan Iltutmish' daughter (Raverty's Trans. P.xxvi).
208. MT.P.65;
209. TA.P.59; MT.P.65; TF.P.66. The poem begins with the following words: ای فتنه از نیت تو زینار خواسته
 بیخ تو مال و فیل زلفار خواسته
210. Indian Architecture, P.15;

211. Indian Architecture, P.15;
212. Indian Architecture, P.13; AMRD.P.70. It is in the village of Malikpur, about three and a half mile to the North-West of the Qutb Minar and four miles west of Mahrauli. A vaulted tomb or crypt, it was completed in 629 A.H./1231 A.D. It is interesting to note that after Prince Nasir-ud-din Mahmud, a saint named Sheikh Kamal-ud-din who flourished in Delhi, at the time of Ibn Batutta, was surnamed Ghari as he lived in a Ghar or crypt near the convent of Sheikh Nizam-ud-din Aulia.
213. Indian Architecture, P.13;
214. Ibid. Amir Khusrau also gives a brief account of Iltutmish's dream and of Hauz-i-Shamsi in his Qiran-us-Sadain.
215. AMRD.pp. 38-39; these palaces were erected in the fort of Rai Pithora.
216. FS.P.110; *کے بعد بہت اقلیم شد - دربارش بہ دارالعلم*
Indian Architecture, P.13;
217. Indian Architecture, P.13; MT.P.51; FS.P.110;
218. Zia-ud-din Barani gives a list of these Forty in his Tarikh-i-Feroze Shahi.
219. All the Persian writers - contemporary and medieval - mention this fact in their histories.
220. According to Zia-ud-din Barani, he was equal to the Sultan of Egypt and was the compeer of the king of Iraq, Khorasan; and Khwarizm. Vide, E.D.111, P.98.
221. See Wright's Coinage, pp. 18-20;
222. Sultan Iltutmish first delighted in his royal titles as : *السلطان الاعظم شمس الدین ابوالمنظراہ یلتمش*
But after securing the recognition of his right to rule from the Caliph, he changed the title to- *السلطان الاعظم شمس الدین ابوالمنظراہ یلتمش*
See Wright's Coinage, pp-19-20;
223. Trans: King of the King of the Turks and Persians
Pride of the Kings of Arabia and Persia.

224. TN.P.181;

225. Ibid;

226. TN.P.185;

227. TN.P.176; TA.P.61; MT.P.68; TF.P.66; Ganj-i-Tarikh,
P.171.

228. AMRD. P.73; Asar-us-Sanadiid, P. 24, (near Qutb Minar).

229. Tarikh(B), P.63-64;

CHAPTER.1V.

SULTAN RAZIYYAH BEGUM'S EARLY LIFE AND HER ACCESSION TO THE THRONE.

Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish's preference for his daughter, Princess Raziyyah Begum, as his successor created a stir in his empire. Her nomination as heir-apparent in the formative period of Muslim Empire in India was as thrilling and exciting as it was complicated and baffling. The problem of succession for the first time in India projected forth the prospect of a young and beautiful virgin queen on the throne of Delhi with a crown on her head, a sceptre in her hand and a veil on her face. Will the vision become a reality was henceforth every body's guess and individual reactions immediately followed.

No interesting story reading like a fairy tale has been attached to her birth and the contemporary chroniclers do not record her date of birth and early life. However, from the scattered references about her life, it appears that she was born with a silver spoon in her mouth and opened her eyes in a royal palace. She was the eldest daughter¹ of Sultan Iltutmish and a grand daughter of Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak. Her mother was the daughter of Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak, whom Sultan Iltutmish had married after he was seated on the throne by the nobles of Delhi in 607 A.H./1214² A.D.

She was the Chief wife (³ بزرگتر حرم) of Sultan Iltutmish; she resided in the famous palace known as Kushak-e-Ferozi, that was especially built for this august lady by the Sultan. It was in this palace that Raziyyah Begum was brought up, and lived with her mother, one sister and two brothers. - Muiz-ud-din and Qutb-ud-din. ⁴ Sultan Iltutmish's other wives were provided separate accommodations and from them he had a number of children. Among the wives who distinguished herself was Shah Turkan. She was formerly a Turkish slave girl (⁵ کنیز ترکیه). She was the mother of Prince Feroze, ⁶ who, after the death of the Crown Prince, Nasir-ud-din Mahmud, was the eldest surviving son of Sultan Iltutmish. ⁷

Although Princess Raziyyah was brought up in the seclusion of the royal harem, she was imparted a liberal education and taught even riding and arts of war. ⁸ Sultan Iltutmish took special interest in her training as she was not only extremely beautiful, but also the most intelligent among his children. Under the sheltering care of her father she grew up a Princess par excellence. The beauty which she inherited from her father was marvellous and her fame spread far and wide. She was so beautiful that a poet once remarked that it was "sufficient to ripen the corn in the blade". ⁹ And the celebrated poet Amir Khusrau only conveys the general opinion when he writes about her : ¹⁰ سے حیدر آفتابش بود در میخ

Princess Raziyyah was a perfect model of a good, noble and virtuous ¹¹ lady. She was not only beautiful and intelligent, but also brave¹². She was not a Juliet or Rosalind and she never acted as a coquette. She captivated the hearts of men and women by sheer dint of her noble qualities of head and heart. For her beauty and chastity, wisdom and valour, she eventually became a favourite of her father, an idol of the royal court and a shining star of the people. In other words, she became the cynosure of all eyes in the empire of Hindustan.

It is interesting to note that while inheriting all the noble qualities of her father, she did not lag behind in displaying his artistic tastes, for she could see her father's architectural achievements and was enamoured by them. The wonderful Minaret - QUTB MINAR - was under construction¹³. The work left by Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak was undertaken by Sultan Iltutmish¹⁴. The young Princess must have watched with delight the progress of the Minar rising to an astonishing height. She was in her teens or was perhaps an adolescent when amidst great rejoicing this Minar consisting of five storeys was declared complete in 617 A.H/1220 A.D.¹⁵. She was also the first with the Sultan to make an ascent and enjoy the exquisite scenes of Nature and the new Capital (Delhi) that was beaming with life. More than anything else, Qutb Minar seems to be the only eye witness

thar saw Raziyyah in her cradle, Raziyyah in her teens, and Raziyyah transforming into a lovely maiden, a paragon of beauty, an extraordinary Princess possessing marvellous charms, uncommon ability and astonishing energy and wisdom.

If Sultan Iltutmish perceived that Raziyyah possessed the requisite qualifications to be the future Sultan of Hindustan, he was justified in his opinion. Considering his age and time, it really seems very strange that when he intended to nominate Princess Raziyyah as his successor, he did not receive any serious protest from the elite or from any other quarter. This remarkable silence might be attributed to his great personal influence as a powerful and popular monarch. Still the Sultan did not consider the problem of succession as finally solved, for he had grown up sons, who might challenge her right to succeed him, and he had courtiers who might argue with her the legal aspects of succession. It was no doubt possible for him to secure an assurance in blank and white in favour of Raziyyah, but such a document procured by force would not secure her position, rather it would throw her into great difficulties. He, therefore, sought to solve the problem of succession by peaceful means. He knew that merit alone would confer upon one the right to rule¹⁶. He was not satisfied with his sons; some of them were mere pleasure-seekers and some were too young to wield the sceptre¹⁷. He had noticed, on the contrary, sign of

greatness in Raziyyah and therefore his choice fell on the princess as his successor.¹⁸ But after the death of the Crown Prince, Nasir-ud-din Mahmud, Sultan Iltutmish's second son, Prince Feroze, was looked upon as the heir apparent by the people.¹⁹ A far sighted ruler, Sultan Iltutmish was not blind to the fact that his nominee Princess Raziyyah would find a serious rival in Feroze. He, therefore, attempted a novel experiment to win the popular support for Princess Raziyyah as the heir-apparent.

In 625 A.H./1227 A.D., Iltutmish entrusted the fief of Badaun to Feroze,²⁰ and his appointment to this post was significant, as this place was regarded as the ladder to the throne. While the Sultan anxiously watched Feroze's conduct of public affairs, he also gave opportunities to Raziyyah to display her capacities and political wisdom. In 629 A.H./ 1231 A.D., he set out on the Gwalior expedition and left Raziyyah in charge of the administration of his empire.²¹ This arrangement did not provoke any commotion and obviously all acquiesced enabling the Sultan to proceed on his journey. This expedition kept Iltutmish away from the Capital for eleven months.²² During his long absence Raziyyah as the temporary head of the Saltanat did not disappoint her father and well managed the state-affairs.²³ No rebellion or revolt or even any agitation threatened to dislodge her from power. She performed her duties with all the seriousness of an able ruler, exercised authority with

dignity and governed the country so well that it continued to enjoy peace and prosperity till Iltutmish returned from Gwalior with laurels of victory on his eye-brows in 630 A.H./1232²⁴ A.D.

When Iltutmish returned to Delhi, Raziyyah retired to her former position as an affectionate and obedient daughter. Being fully satisfied with her conduct of government, Iltutmish now resolved to produce without any further delay a formal declaration of his choice. Feroze had not shown any marked improvement as yet in his character and therefore he ordered Taj-ul-Malik Mahmud, Dabir-i-Mamlikat (Secretary of State) to write out a decree naming Princess Raziyyah as the heir-apparent.²⁵

Iltutmish thus gave a second chance to the princes and nobles to express their opinion with regard to her appointment as the future ruler of the Indian empire. This time however, some of the nobles who had access to him made representation saying, "Although the Sultan had grown up sons, who are eligible for sovereignty, what scheme and what object has the Badshah of Islam in view in nominating a daughter as his successor. Please explain this matter, for this royal act does not seem to be worthy of appreciation by your humble²⁶ servants".

On hearing this complaint, Iltutmish promptly replied, "My sons are devoted to the pleasures of youth and none of them is qualified to be the king. They are unfit to rule the country and after my death you will find that there is no one more competent to guide the empire than my daughter"²⁷.

This reply silenced those who were eager to see a male and not a female sovereign on the throne of the Muslim empire of India. For Iltutmish's observations were based on facts. His nobles' complaint did not surprise him. As he expected, he found it only an expression of male prejudice and abhorance for a female sovereign and no legal objection. To counter act this prejudice, he made a prediction, which to his satisfaction produced the desired psychological effect.

Emboldened by the success of his novel experiment, Iltutmish thought to give a wider publicity to her nomination and this he did not only by associating her in the administration of his empire, but also issuing coins - a new series of silver tanka in her name.²⁸

Slowly and silently Raziyyah was thus emerging as the future queen of India, but she was a daughter and not a son of a Sultan and there was a certain limitation prescribed by Muslim theologians which disqualified her to be a ruler. Iltutmish was no less a Muslim than a Muslim

theologian, and therefore the question arises : What it was that induced the Sultan to defy the holy injunction and appoint her as his successor?

1. Sultan Iltutmish's choice for Princess Raziyyah as his successor was no doubt based first on his political experience and peculiar situation in India. His eldest son Prince Nasir-ud-din was dead;²⁹ his next son Feroze lacked the requisite qualifications of a king.³⁰ Muiz-ud-din and Qutb-ud-din were young in years and Nasir-ud-din Mahmud - the second son of the name was an infant.³¹ Having no capable male heir, Iltutmish could not ignore the case of his talented daughter especially when Islam had conferred equal rights upon women and created for them an honoured position in the society.³²

2. A certain background, too, helped Iltutmish to come to a decision in favour of Raziyyah. The Turks had assimilated the Persian monarchical theory, which did not exclude female sovereigns, for according to it none but persons of royal blood had the right to assume royal titles and such a right could not be transferred except through direct descent. Iltutmish, therefore, did not hesitate in nominating Raziyyah as his successor. Besides, a most overriding consideration which guided the Turks in the choice of a successor was greater ability and fitness of the can-

didate to rule.³³

سبک سیرت نیابد کسی + تانزیه تیغ دودلے ہے

Trans:

No body gets the kingdom as a legacy unless he has ability to wield the sword.

It had remained a cardinal principle in the past, which led the Turks to dismiss all other claims whether based on descent, nomination, seniority or investiture of the Caliph. Judged by this principle Raziyyah was, no doubt, the fittest candidate. She was not only the eldest of the surviving children of Iltutmish, but also the most intelligent, boldest and ablest. Iltutmish once remarked, "Raziyyah though in the form of a woman, she is in reality a man and better than my sons."³⁴

3. Iltutmish was not making a precedent, for before Raziyyah the world had seen female sovereigns seated on the throne. We get the earliest mention of Queen Hunai (also Hume) belonging to the Second Dynasty of Persia.³⁵ She was a daughter of Bahman, son of Isfandiar, and mother of Dara (or Darab-i-Akhtar). She ruled for thirty years and abdicated in favour of her son. Two other remarkable queens came into view in the 7th century, who belonged to the 5th Dynasty in Persia. They were daughters of Khusrau Pervez - Turan Dakht and Arjumand Dakht.³⁶

Turan Dakht succeeded Khusrau Parvez and ruled for one year and four months.³⁷ After her death, Arjumand Dakht, the second daughter of Khusrau Pervez, came to the throne. She was extremely

beautiful and intelligent.³⁸ Again, the Khitai Turks, who sought asylum in India, were successfully ruled by women sovereigns

in their native country.³⁹ Their first ruler was a woman and then

⁴⁰
 Gur Khan ascended the throne. He died in 537 A.H./1142-43
⁴¹
 A.D. The next ruler was again a woman, the wife of Gur Khan
 and after her death Konik or Konayik Khatoon, Gur Khan's
⁴²
 daughter ruled over the country. she lived for a considerable
 time and well managed the state-affairs. Her power was even-
⁴³
 tually destroyed by Koman. Another queen who enjoyed celeb-
 rity in those remote age was ~~Badshah~~ Khatoon, who ruled over
⁴⁴
 the kingdom of Kirman. She was a daughter of Qutb-ud-din,
 whom she succeeded in 603 A.H./1206 A.D., under the title
⁴⁵
 of Safwat-ud-din. She ruled for eight years. Besides, the
⁴⁶
 family of Khwarizm Shah and Chingiz Khan threw female sove-
 reigns on the steps of their respective thrones. Uktai Khan,
⁴⁷
 son of Chingiz Khan, was succeeded by his wife Tarkina Khatoon.
 She ruled over the Mongol empire for four years. But she did
 not prove a capable ruler and being disgusted with her foibles
 and follies the nobles removed her and elevated her son
⁴⁸
 to the throne. The wife of the founder of the Khwarizm Shahi
 empire was already a ruler and she retained her sovereign pow-
⁴⁹
 ers and imperial titles even after her marriage. Another ins-
 tance is furnished by Halab(Mesopotamia). Here Safia Khatoon,
 widow of the Ayubid Prince Malik al Zahir, ruled in full sove-
⁵⁰
 reignty till her death in 640 A.H./1242 A.D.

In view of numerous female sovereigns, who crowd-
 ed the political stage, it was certainly no great novelty
 or rigid departure from current political ideas if Ilut-

mish nominated his illustrious daughter Raziyyah as the future sovereign of the new Muslim empire in India.

4. Iltutmish was guided in the choice for a successor by his chief wife, who was the daughter of Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak⁵¹. She had great influence upon him and when she pleaded for Raziyyah, the Sultan could not ignore the case of the Princess.

5. There is no Quranic injunction debarring a woman from being a ruler, though superiority of man over woman has been emphasised in the Holy Book. But there is definite Quranic injunction :

اطيعوا الله واطيعوا الرسول واولا امرئكم 52

(Obey God, His Prophet, and the Chief among you).

Iltutmish, therefore, hoped that if nominated, Raziyyah's rule would be accepted by the people.

6. Iltutmish did not think that he was violating a sacred law by placing Raziyyah on the throne. If there is no Quranic injunction against the crowning of a woman, there is also no definite Hadis or saying of the Prophet. Those, who produce the saying of the Prophet, forget the particular circumstance in which he made a remark. It is also reported that when the news of Turan Dakht's accession was conveyed to the Prophet, he said: " لا يفتح قوم بمكهم⁵³ " i.e, the nation

will not profit from her rule. Sultan Iltutmish did not stick to a rigid interpretation of this remark and regarded it for a particular queen. As he was justified in his action, especially when he was anxious for the survival, progress and prosperity of the newly established Muslim empire of Hindustan.

7. Having nothing to prick his conscience, Iltutmish found no legal hurdle also in nominating Raziyyah as his heir-apparent. Among the woman's legal right may be mentioned the following :

A woman can be a Caliph

2. a sovereign of an empire
3. an administrator of a state
4. a Mutavali of a Wakf State
5. a jurist or an arbitrator
6. a head of an educational institute.
7. a Munsif, Vakil or witness
8. she might own and inherit a property in the same as a man
9. she has the voting right at an election
10. she has equal right of progress in every field except that she can not be an Imam to lead the prayer-gathering

Iltutmish, therefore, thought that if he nominated Raziyyah, the jurists and legal experts would not succeed in disqualifying her from the exalted position of a ruler by a mere stroke of their pen. It was after four centuries i.e in the 17th century that Abdul Haque, a Mohadis, expressed his asto-

nishment at the attitude of the 13th century jurists who maintained silence at the time of royal proclamation and did not question the authority of Iltutmish in nominating his daughter as his successor.⁵⁵

Lastly, Iltutmish's own observations convinced him that Raziyyah was the best and the only suitable candidate for the throne. Like a jeweller expert in distinguishing real diamonds from the artificial ones, he did not waver in his choice of a successor and made the extraordinary proclamation whereby Raziyyah was to succeed him after his death.

No doubt, an important deed was prepared by Iltutmish in favour of his daughter, but he still dreaded the future misfortunes that might befall his loving daughter. Feroze was not intelligent and competent like his sister, but he had magnetic attraction by virtue of his handsome figure and charming manners.⁵⁶ Moreover, he possessed a band of orthodox supporters and selfish and mean flatterers, who might create troubles for Raziyyah after or before her accession. As time passed Feroze's mother, Shah Turkan started back door manoeuvres, and began to win secretly the nobles and leading men of the empire so that she might make the throne safe for her son. Prudent and wise as he was, Iltutmish did not fail to read the timely warning that was inherent in the secret in-

trigues of Feroze's supporters.

Iltutmish, therefore, needed some more definite steps to avert the dispute over succession and prevent the civil war; but before he could do so, some troubles created by Khokars necessitated his departure from the Capital. In the winter of 633 A.H./ 1235 A.D., he led a punitive expedition against them and reached ⁵⁷Banian. There he suddenly fell ill and his sickness necessitated immediate return to his Capital⁵⁸. While returning to Delhi, he picked up Feroze from Lahore, where he had lately been transferred⁵⁹. The matter was still undecided when his condition grew critical and he expired on Monday, 20th Shaban, 633 A.H./ 30th April, 1236⁶⁰ A.D.

Iltutmish's last act created some misunderstanding in the minds of the nobles and they regarded it as a special favour for Feroze, when he accompanied his father from Lahore to Delhi. Although there is nothing on record to show that the late Sultan had changed his mind or cancelled the earlier proclamation, still Feroze's nearness to his dying father gave him an obvious advantage over his sister, Raziyyah. Making it an excuse, the nobles immediately raised Feroze to the throne. That they were in constant touch with Shah Turkan admits of no doubt. Feroze's coronation took place on 29th Shaban, 633 A.H./ 8th May, 1236⁶¹ A.D. He assumed the royal title of Rukn-ud-din and thus became the fourth ru-

ler of the so-called Slave Dynasty.

Sultan Rukn-ud-din's accession was, no doubt, a flagrant violation of the royal proclamation issued by Sultan Iltutmish and in complete disregard of his wishes. Therefore, the question arises : Why the nobles worked in union with Shah Turkan for Feroze forgetting so soon their beloved Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish? The simple answer is Shah Turkan's successful diplomacy. She had been so far the leading lady of the Harem next to Princess Raziyyah's mother; she had been extremely generous to Syeds, learned and pious people.⁶³ There was nothing at the moments to warrant the bad aspects of her future conduct. She was quite popular among the nobles being the mother of the Crown Prince, Feroze. Hence her appeal to the nobles in favour of her son's candidature did not go in vain and they displayed their temerity in putting aside the royal firman of the late Sultan.

Minhaj-us-Siraj, the contemporary writer, however, justifies the action of the nobles by describing some concrete reasons for the elevation of Feroze to that exalted position. He writes:

64 چو سلطان شمس الدین از کابل و شیع آن تله و بلاد بخصرت باز آمد بمالک
لاپور کہ تختگاه فرس و ملک بود سلطان دکن الدین داد - و چون سلطان در آخر لشکر
از لطف و نیکوئی باز آمد دکن الدین را با خود بخصرت آورد کہ خلق را بر وی نظر بود
چون او بعد از ملک ناصر الدین محمود بہتر سپاہ سلطان بود - علیہ الرحمۃ - و چون سلطان

چون سلطان شمس‌الدین از تخت دنیا بمحک آخرت خراسان با اتفاق ملوک و ارباب هر مملکت سلطان
 رکن‌الدین بتخت مملکت بنشینست - روز سه شنبه بیت و شهر شجیان شد تخت
 و نشین و مقامه تاج و تخت از فرو بیاید و او زین گرفت - همگنان جلوس او شد و جان ندادند
 و تشریفات بپوشیدند

Trans:

1. The territory of Lahore, which had been the seat of government of (Sultan) Khusrav Malik (the last of the Ghaznavid dynasty), was conferred upon Sultan Rukn-ud-din, when Sultan Shams-ud-din returned to the Capital after the conquest of the fort and territory of Gujrat.

2. On return journey from Sind and Banian, where Sultan Shams-ud-din had led the last expedition, he brought Rukn-ud-din along with him to the Capital, for the people had their eye upon him.

3. After the death of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud, he (Rukn-ud-din) was the eldest son of Sultan Shams-ud-din.

4. When Sultan Shams-ud-din walked into the eternal kingdom from the throne of the world (i.e expired), the Maliks and grandees of the empire entered into an agreement to place Rukn-ud-din upon the throne.

(It was for these reasons) that Sultan Rukn-ud-din sat on the throne on Tuesday, the 29th Shaban in 633 A.H./ and the diadem and throne acquired beauty, splendour from his dignity, excellence and elegance; and all rejoiced at his accession and donned honorary dresses (to testify and display their joy).

The happy inauguration of Sultan Rukn-ud-din's reign, however, did not prove auspicious. It marked the commencement of the race for political power that continued till the accession of Balban and here the chief participants were the provincial governors, imperial army and the house-hold dignitaries.

65
Sultan Iltutmish's accession was the work of the army and he

66
was opposed by the household dignitaries . Although he had

xxxxxxx crushed his opponents and kept the warring

factions under his firm control during his reign, the ill feelings persisted and erupted as soon as the master-hand was removed by death. Sultan Rukn-ud-din's crowning took place by virtue of the support rendered to him by the provincial governors, household dignitaries and the imperial army. Thus he was fortunate in having the support of the principal props of the empire. The unifying factor among them was their dislike for a female sovereign. For a time, of-course, peace prevailed, which led them to conclude that the new Sultan was not so wretched and incompetent as was supposed by the late Sultan. But as soon as the Malik left the Capital than Rukn-ud-din found himself free to do what he liked and could not endure any longer the self imposed restrictions. He gave himself up to sensual pleasures and began to spend lavishly the funds of Bait-ul-Mal in the most improper manners.⁶⁷ Owing to his excessive love for pleasures and enjoyments, the state-affairs could not receive the royal attention and the administration of the empire fell into disorder and confusion.⁶⁸ This gave an opportunity to his mother, Shah Turkan to manage the state-affairs. She gradually acquired full authority and even issued royal firmans.⁶⁹ An ambitious woman, Shah Turkan was full of hatred for other wives of the late Sultan.⁷⁰ Power intoxicated her mind and she indulged in a series of dastardly and foul acts⁷¹ in order

to remove every possible claimant of the Crown. Now she appeared as an enchantress, who combined a will of iron with uncommon cruelty. The Malik got alarmed and all those who had worked for Feroze's accession ceased to be his ardent supporters. Realising their mistake they now became his opponents and longed for a change of sovereignty.⁷² They had to regret their choice for more than one reason.

As soon as the Maliks returned to their respective head-quarters, the new Sultan plunged himself into sensual pleasures and passed his days in drunken orgies or in the 'harem' with the dancing girls.⁷³ He opened the door of royal treasury,⁷⁴ which the late Sultan had accumulated for the defence and prosperity of his empire and freely distributed money among his mean admirers without caring for the ultimate results.⁷⁵ Not content with the waste, he took a childish delight in riding through the streets on an elephant and scattering gold among the rabble.⁷⁶ He thus paid no attention to the state-affairs and in order to be completely free from the royal duties, he accepted to be a king but in name surrendering all actual power to his mother, Shah Turkan.⁷⁷ His uncommon generosity won for him the title of Hatim-i-Sani (Hatim the Second),⁷⁸ but his conduct eventually proved his father's prediction.

While Rukn-ud-din was giving offence to the sensi-

sitive elite by his sensuality and immorality, Shah Turkan alienated the Maliks by her ambition. She could not remain satisfied as the Queen Regent and attempted to rule as a dictator. Her intentions became quite clear when she behaved as an absolute monarch by issuing royal firmans.⁷⁹

The nobles who were hitherto her ardent supporters now became disgusted with her.⁸⁰ They found themselves encircled into the same whirlpool from which they had attempted to extricate themselves by suppressing the claims of Princess Raziyyah and acknowledging the suzerainty of Rukn-ud-din. The prospect of a woman's rule again haunted their imagination. Perhaps they might have tolerated her, but Shah Turkan did not remain content by issuing the royal firmans ; she resorted to the tricks of a tyrant.

While Rukn-ud-din emptied the treasury, Shah Turkan started a reign of terror. She began to avenge the slights which she had endured during the days of her servitude as a Kandz.⁸¹ She secretly murdered some of the highly born wives of Sultan Iluttmish and subjected the rest to humiliating jest and torture.⁸² Not only this. To secure the Crown for her son and power for herself, she ruthlessly put to death all the innocent relations of Sultan Rukn-ud-din, who might be named as possible candidates for the throne. Among the victims of this great tyrant was Prince Qutb-ud-din, younger brother

83

of Raziyyah, whom she first blinded and then assassinated.

Again, while Rukn-ud-din neglected his royal duties and Shah Turkan carried on her policy of blood and butchery, internal revolt and external dangers threatened the very existence of the empire. The Mongol cataclysm perpetrated by Chingiz Khan was fresh in the mind of the people of India. After the death of this great Mongol, his son Uktai succeeded him.⁸⁴ Unlike his father he was just and humane and refrained from general massacre of the innocent people.⁸⁵ But political exigencies oft involved him into wars. Malik Saif-ud-din Hasan Qarlagh was then the ruler of Ghazni, Kirman and Baniyan.⁸⁶ On becoming king, Uktai sent his forces towards Ghor and Ghazni and nominated his own men.⁸⁷ Hasan Qarlagh offered resistance, but he was driven out from Baniyan. The Mongols tried to capture him and make him a prisoner, but he eluded their grasp and at last purchased peace by offering presents and agreeing to pay a tribute.⁸⁸ These skirmishes on the borders of India created a dangerous situation. But Rukn-ud-din and his government took no notice of them.⁸⁹

The fear of foreign aggression, however, subsided in the confusion that prevailed due to more serious internal revolts in different parts of the empire against the licentiousness of Rukn-ud-din and atrocities of Shah Tur-

kan. Malik Ghiyas-ud-din Mohammad Shah, younger brother of Rukn-ud-din, revolted in Oudh and seized the canopy of treasures that were being carried from Lakhnauti to Delhi, and plundered many Indian towns.⁹⁰ Malik Izz-ud-din Mohammad Salari, the governor of Badaun, Malik Izz-ud-din Kabir Khan, the governor of Multan, Malik Saif-ud-din Koochi, the governor of Hansi and Malik Ala-ud-din, the governor of Lahore, also rebelled and refused to carry out the commands of Rukn-ud-din.⁹¹ These waves of revolts and rebellions at last roused the Sultan from lethargy, and he marched out of his Capital to punish the refractory nobles.⁹² But it was too late as the smothering fire had flared up with the velocity of a volcano.

Lastly, to cap the climax, Shah Turkan attempted to assassinate Raziyyah,⁹³ whom she regarded as her arch enemy and she sought to justify her action on the ground of Raziyyah's misbehavior. She also began to remove the nobles and officers whom she dreaded that they might dislodge her from power.⁹⁴

The news of an attempt on Raziyyah's life spread like a wild fire all over the empire. Ever since the death of Prince Qutb-ud-din, the people were anxiously watching the development in the Capital and different parts of the country and waiting for the result of the politi-

cians' activities to bring normalcy in the empire. But now they could not remain as mere passive spectators. The tense situation took a dramatic turn when Nizam-ul-Mulk Mohammad Junaidi - the Prime Minister, out of fear of Rukn-ud-din, deserted him and went to Kol to join the rebels.⁹⁵ This divided the nobles into two hostile camps - the Turks and Tajiks. The Turks were divided among themselves and their mutual jealousy and struggle for power were constant features of early thirteenth century politics. The Tajiks were Persian speaking Turks, who had come to India from their Turkish homelands owing to Chingiz Khan's atrocities. Iltutmish welcomed these⁹⁶ refugees, who belonged to all sections of a polite society and gave them not only asylum, but associated them in the administration of his empire awarding various posts according to their merits.⁹⁷ In return the Tajiks did their best for the safety and surprising prosperity and progress of their land of adoption - the new infant Muslim empire of Hindustan. They monopolised not only the higher posts in the central and provincial governments, but also dominated the literary and intellectual life.⁹⁸ Their rising power became an eye-sore for Turkish nobles especially when they could not tolerate Rukn-ud-din's utter neglect of the government and hence hoisted the flag of rebellion. Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi was a Tajik. He put the last straw on the camel's back by deserting the

Sultan when he left the Capital to chastise the rebels. On the pretext of Junaidi's desertion, the Turks challenged the Tajiks to fight a final battle for supremacy.

Following the rebels Rukn-ud-din reached Kohram,⁹⁹ and soon thereafter a mutiny occurred in which many Tajiks lost their ¹⁰⁰lives. Among these martyres were Taj-ul-Mulk Mahmud, the Dabir and Mushrif-i-Mumalik, and Baha-ul-Mulk Mohammad Junaidi, Nizam-ud-din Sharqani, Khwaja Rashid-ud-din Malkani and Amir Fakhr-ud-din.¹⁰¹ The mutiny was a repercussion of the riot that had broken out in the Capital soon after the departure of Rukn-ud-din.¹⁰² The holocaust was instigated by the Turks and among the victims of the Turks' fury were many high officials, statesmen and literateurs. Their tragical death not only considerably reduced the power and influence of the Tajiks, but also threw a dark shadow over the intellectual life of Hindustan. The leaders who engineered and directed the riot were Malik Ikhtiyar-ud-din Yazbak Tughril Khan and Malik Izz-ud-din Balban Kishlu Khan.¹⁰³

While revolts and riots were disfiguring the empire, Raziyyah made a bid for the throne.¹⁰⁴ Clad in the red garment of a suppliant, she appeared before the citizens of Delhi, who had assembled for Friday prayer in the Imperial Mosque and appealed to them to save her from Shah Turkan, who had plotted to murder her.¹⁰⁵ She also earnestly request-

ed them to espouse her cause and reminding them of the royal firman issued by their late Sultan, asked them to give her a chance to fulfil the desire of her father and to display her merits.¹⁰⁶ She reminded them of the golden days when peace and prosperity reigned supreme in the empire under the guidance of Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish and assured them that she would also work for the welfare of her people. Her pathetic appeal and eloquent speech produced an immediate effect upon her listeners, who unanimously declared that they would not rest till they saw her safely seated on the throne.¹⁰⁷ Meanwhile, army officers and leading Amirs and Maliks also rallied round the Princess; they all declared her to be their Sultan and conducted her to the throne. In the midst of such popular ovation and tumultuous scenes, Raziyyah entered into an agreement with the people according to which she was to be given a chance and if she did not prove better than man, her head was to be struck off.¹⁰⁸ This condition even excited those who were still wavering in their decision to accept her rule. Her beauty, simplicity, courage, wisdom and ingenuity at last produced a miracle that could not be seen again in the country. Shah Turkan was captured and imprisoned,¹⁰⁹ and Raziyyah was formally proclaimed as the Sultan-i-Hind.¹¹⁰ (Emperor of Hindustan). This event took place on 18th Rabi.¹¹¹ 1.634 A.H./19th November, 1236 A.D. How a minor revolt precipitated a great revolution that culminated

with an unexpected reality added another crowning achievement to the credit of the illustrious daughter of Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish.

When the news of revolution reached the deposed Sultan, he immediately called together all the troops available in the district of Badaun and proceeded towards Delhi¹¹². Sultan Raziyyah sent a force to Kilokhery to prevent him from causing further mischief and to foil his attempt to secure his lost Saltanat¹¹³. Shah Turkan's atrocities had incensed even the family members of Rukn-ud-din. Again, the mutiny had weakened his army and created confusion among them. To add to his misfortunes, the army officers who had deserted him, succeeded in winning over his troops and thereby facilitated the task of their new Sultan. Rukn-ud-din's personal heroism and last bid to recover the throne of Delhi proved of no avail. He was captured without any battle and delivered bound and helpless into the hands of his sister¹¹⁴.

Eversince the death of Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish, Raziyyah Begum was constantly living under the shadow of death. Her nearest and dearest ones were forcibly removed from her by Shah Turkan. She could not forget the secret murder of her youngest brother to whom she was deeply attached. Therefore, when Rukn-ud-din was brought before her as a prisoner,

she could not show any mercy to him. By her order the captive ruler was immediately thrown behind the iron bars and after sometimes he died in prison. This event took place on 18th Rabi.1.634¹⁵ A.H./ Sunday, 19th November, 1236 A.D. Sultan Rukn-ud-din's reign lasted only for six months and twenty eight days¹¹⁶. His death removed one of the most serious rivals of Raziyyah and left her unchallenged in her position as the Emperor of Hindustan.

NOTES

1. TN.P.183; TM.P.26; TA.P.65; MT.P.70; TF.P.68;
2. TN.P.141;
3. TN.P.185; AMRD.P.
4. According to Ibn Battutah, Muiz-ud-din and Qutb-ud-din were born of the same mother. Vide Rehlah, p.34;
5. TN.P.185; MT.P.69; TF.P.68;
6. TN.P.182; TA.P.65; TM.P.21; TF.P.68;
7. TN.P.182;
8. TA.P.56; MT.P.70; TF.P.68-
 قرآن مجید را با آداب میخواند و از بعضی علوم و الفنون آشنائی داشت -
 (She read Quran with correct pronunciation and was conversant with some of the arts (that were appreciated by the society of her time));
9. CWSI.P.110;
10. DR.P.49; Cf. ETED.P.195, for a different account-"Sultan Radiyah was obviously a powerful, manly and haughty Tartar woman and possibly unmarriageable".
11. DR.P.49;
12. DR.P.49; TN.P.185; MT.P.70;
13. Indian Architecture, P.12
14. Ibid, P.13;
15. Indian Architecture, P.13; ABR.P.202;
16. Amir Khusrau expresses the general opinion when he writes in his Qiran-us-Sadain-
 سکه بهیولت نیاید کسی + تاغیرت بیخ دودستے سے
 page 118.
 (That ability to wield the sceptre rather than legitimacy was the accepted principle of the period under review).
17. TN.P.185;

18. TN.P.185;
19. TN.P.182;
20. TN.P.181; TA.P.63; Ferishta places this event in 626 A.H., and Badauni in 629 A.H.
21. TN.P.185; FS.P.126-
 میراثہ ولی عہد خود کردہ بود
 بہ من فاطمہ ملک پسندہ بود
22. TN.P.174;
23. TN.P.185; Rauzat-us-Safa, vol.iv, P.216;
24. TN.P.175;
25. TN.P.185; TA.P.65; IF.P.68:
 چند امراء حاضر در دربار او شدند
26. Ibid;
27. TN.pp.185-86;
28. JASB.1896, P.218;
29. TN.P.174;
30. Minhaj and other writers reproduce Sultan Iltutmish's opinion that none of his sons were worthy to be his successor for one reason or other;
31. Ibn Batutah mentions that when Sultan Iltutmish died, he left three sons, namely Rukn-ud-din, his immediate successor, Muiz-ud-din and Nasir-ud-din and a daughter Raziyyah. Vide, Rehlah, p.34;
32. "The right of women over men are precisely the same as the rights of men over women." Quran.2.2.228.
33. Qiran-us-Sadain, P.118.

34. TA.P.65; TF.P.68; MR.P.301; Rauzat-ut-Tahirin (MS), f198;
35. R.Tr.P.3;
36. TN (MS), 26b; Rauzat-us-Safa, vol-1., p.268 (the names of the two queens are mentioned here as Pura Dakht and Azarmi Dakht);
37. Ibid;
38. Ibid;
39. TN.P.328;
40. Ibid;
41. R.Tr.pp.927-28;
42. Ibid;
43. Ibid;
44. Tazkirat-ul-Khwateen, P.60;
45. Ibid;
46. Ibid;
47. TN.P.396;
48. Ibid;
49. Tarikh-i-Jahan Kushan (Boyle's Tr.), vol.11.P.496;
50. Abul Fed, Tarikh, vol.111.P.171;
51. TN.P.141;
52. Quran. 5.4.59.
53. TN (MS), f.26b;
54. AJMR.P.178;
55. Zikr-i-Muluk (MS), f.224;

56. TN.P.181;
57. TN.P.181. MT.P.68; (Badauni writes Multan instead of Baniyan; TM.P.20(Bhilistan); TA.P.64;(Swistan);
58. TN.P.181;
59. TN.P.182; TA.P.64;
60. TN.P.181; TM.P.20; FS.P.123; Tarikh-i-Sind gives the date as 26th Shaban, 633 A.H. Again, Rauzat-ut-Tahirin on page 37 has 632 A.H., but it is not correct. Generally the writers follow Tabaqat-i-Nasiri in giving the date of Sultan Iltutmish's death. See Haft Aqlim, vol.11, P.524; Rauzat-us-Safa, vol.4. P.218; Hadiqat-us-Safa (MS), f.13;
61. TN.P.182; TM.P.21; (Yahya mentions Shaban, 22, 633 A.H.)
62. FS.P.125;
 "No gold coin of this Sultan are known but few of his
~~63.~~ silver tankas... It will be noticed that both Firuz and Razia sought to enhance the security of their tenure of the throne by invoking the aid of their father's name on their coins, giving him higher title- while retaining for themselves the inferior-
 Vide, SDCM.P.75; الاعلى،
المنكلم -
63. TN.P.181;
64. TN.P.182;
65. TN.P.141;
66. Ibid;
67. TN.P.182; MT.P.69; TM.P.21; TA.P.64; TF.P.68; FS.P.125- according to Isami, Feroze changed his attitude some three or four months after the coronation;
68. Ibid;
69. Ibid;
70. TN.P.182; TA.P.64; TF.P.67;
71. Ibid. But Isami in his Futuh-us-Salatin does not mention the role of Rukn-ud-din's mother, Shah Turkan.

72. TN.P.183; FS.P.125;
73. All Persian writers refer to this aspect of Feroze's conduct in their works.
74. TN.P.182; DR.P.49; FS.P.125;
75. Ibid;
76. TN.P.184;
77. TN.P.182;
78. TN.P.184;
79. TN.P.182;
80. Ibid;
81. TN.P.183;
82. TN.P.182;
83. TN.P.183; TM.P.21; TA. P.64; MT.P.69; TF.P.67;
84. TN.P.392;
85. Ibid;
86. Ibid;
87. Ibid;
88. Ibid;
89. Ibid;
90. TN.P.183; TM.P.22; TA.P.64; MT.P.69; TF.P.67;
91. Ibid;
92. Ibid
93. TN.P.183-184; Rauzat-us-Safa, vol.1.P.218;
94. Ibid;

95. TN.P.183; TA.P.65; TF.P.67; TM.P.22- (Yahya mentions that out of fear of Sultan Rukn-ud-din, Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi fled from Delhi and reached Badaun and joined the rebels). Isami in his *Futuh-us-Salatin* does not give any account of Junaidi's desertion and his association with the rebels.
96. HMC.P.59;
97. Ibid;
98. Ibid;
99. TN.P.183;
100. Ibid;
101. TN.P.183; Yahya, Nizam-ud-din Ahmad and Ferishta do not agree with Minhaj on this point. According to them all these nobles deserting the Sultan returned to Delhi and elevated Raziyyah to the throne.
102. TN.P.184;
103. For the biographies of these Maliks see TN.pp.261,268;
104. TN.P.183;
105. FS.P.126; Isami here differs from Minhaj. He gives a quite different story of the fall of Sultan Rukn-ud-din. According to him, when the nobles could not tolerate the misconduct of the Sultan and the atrocities of his followers, they confined the Sultan in the Fort of Hansi. Thereafter, they assembled in the palace. They were in search of a suitable candidate for the throne that Raziyyah surprisingly appeared on the scene. See *Futuh-us-Salatin*, page 126.

Amir Khusrau simply says that no prince was worthy to be installed as a king; the decision of those who possessed sound judgement went in favour of the daughter of the late Sultan (Iltutmish). See Deval Rani page 49;

Ibn Batutta writes in his *Rehala*, "He (Rukn-ud-din) inaugurated his reign by persecuting his brother Muiz-ud-din whom he killed. Razia, who was his sister, disapproved of this, so he wanted to kill her. On Friday

after Rukn-ud-din had gone to attend his prayer, Razia ascended the roof of the Daulat Khana, the old palaceShe had then put on the garment of the oppressed. She presented herself to the army(an-nas) and addressed them from the roof... This led a to a revolt and they proceeded against Sultan Rukn-ud-din". See page 34.

106. FS.P.127;

107. Ibid;

108. Ibid;

109. TN.P.184; TM.P.23; TA.P.65; MT.P.70; TF.P.67;

110. Ibid;

111. TM.P.24. The date given in TA., and MR is 635 A.H. But it is not correct. For Minhaj, Badauni and Ferishta give the date as 634 A.H., which has been accepted by other writers.

112. TN.P.184;

113. Ibid;

114. Ibid;

115. TN.P.184; TM.P.23; TA.P.65; TF.P.68. Ibn Batutta in his Rehala on page 34 records that on seeing the captive, (Sultan Rukn-ud-din), Raziyyah ordered him to be killed, "The murderer must be killed", and he was killed in retaliation for his brother's death.

116. TN.P.184; TM.P.23; (Six months and eight days); TA.P.66, (Six months and twenty eight days); Rauzat-us-Safa, vol. iv.P.218 (Seven months); Haft Aqlim, ii, P.524 (Six months and a few days); TF.P.68 (Six months and twenty eight days); MT.P.68 (Six months and a few days), Rauzat-ut-Tahirin(MS), f196 (Six months); Rauzat-us-Safa(MS),f13, (Six months and a few days); Tazkirat-ul-Muluk(MS),f31. (Six months and twenty six days).

CHAPTER.V.

SULTAN RAZIYYAH'S EARLY DIFFICULTIES AND HER STRUGGLE WITH NOBILITY

On becoming the Empress of Hindustan on 18th Rab.1, 634 A.H.¹/ 19th November, 1236 A.D., Raziyyah behaved as an oriental monarch. She assumed the royal titles, sat on the imperial throne and struck coins. Khutba was read in her name and royal firmans were issued under her seal². No details of her coronation have come down to us except the information given by Isami³. People could not see, as under Sultan Rukn-ud-din, the coronation ceremonies on a grand scale according to traditional customs. But the absence of any splendid or spectacular scene was more than compensated by public jubulation and excitement over her exaltation on the historic day. Perhaps she would have arranged to celebrate the occasion on a later date on a grand scale, but the circumstances did not allow her to do so. She was not destined to enjoy a peaceful reign. Soon after her accession, she found herself entangled into a vortex of inexplicable difficulties.

Her early difficulties and later misfortunes may be traced back to the very moment, when she was proclaimed a Sultan. She was elevated to the throne chiefly by the

citizens of Delhi and the army. Her crowning took place amidst moments of great suspense, tumultuous scenes and rare public zeal.⁴ At those moments the leading nobles were mostly out of the Capital and those who were present were not consulted as they were the chief supporters of Sultan Rukn-ud-din and were reluctant to support her candidature. Feeling ignored they, therefore, became furious at her appointment and regarded it as infringement of their right, which they had so far enjoyed without any serious opposition. The confederacy organized by the governors of Hansi, Lahore, Multan and Badaun, who had revolted against Rukn-ud-din, openly refused to acknowledge her suzerainty and proceeded to establish once again their exclusive right to appoint a new ruler.⁵ Their opposition to Raziyyah's rule was quite evident. Conservative and fanatic to the extreme, they were reluctant to be ruled by a queen. They, therefore, put forward the lame excuse that Raziyyah being a woman was not entitled to be honoured as their Sultan. No doubt, the following quranic verses go in support of their action :

1. وَاللَّهُ جَالٍ عَلَىٰ ذُرِّيَّتِهِ

Trans:

And men have a degree of advantage over them (Women).

2. 6. وَاللَّهُ جَالٍ عَلَىٰ ذُرِّيَّتِهِ

القصص

Trans: Men have power and authority over women because God has made men superior to women and also because they spend their money and goods (over women for their comforts).

[illegible]

Trans:

And say to the believing women that they should lower their gaze and guard their modesty, that they should not display their beauty and ornaments except what appear thereof, that they should put on Dopatta over their bosoms and that they should not display their beauty except to their husbands, fathers, father-in-laws, sons, brothers' sons, sisters' sons or their women or slaves and servants, who are ignorant of woman's secrets and devoid of passion and that they should not strike their feet in order to draw attention to their hidden ornaments.

8. يٰنِسَاءَ النَّبِيِّ لَسَنُنَّ لَكَ اَحَدٌ مِّنَ النِّسَاءِ اِنْ تَقْنِيَنَّ فَلَا تَمْنَعَنَّ بِالْقَوْلِ

4.

فَيَطْمَحُ الَّذِي فِي قَلْبِهِ مَرَضٌ وَقُلْنَ قَوْلًا مَعْرُوفًا

Trans :

O' Wives of the prophets ! You are quite different from the other women. If you want to remain pious, you should not talk sweetly to strangers so that a man who has any disease of heart, may not develop any hope for you. You must talk according to custom

٩. وَقَرْنَ فِي بُيُوتِكُنَّ وَلَا تَبَرَّجْنَ تَبَرُّجَ الْجَاهِلِيَّةِ الْأُولَى .

Trans : And stay quietly in your house and don't display your beauty as you did formerly during the days of ignorance.

10 يَا أَيُّهَا النَّبِيُّ قُلْ لِّزَوَاجِكَ وَنِسَائِكَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ يُدْنِينَ عَلَيْهِنَّ

6.

مِنْ جَلَابِيبِهِنَّ -

Trans : The wives of the Prophet, daughters and Muslim women should know that whenever they go out of their houses, they should cover their face with veil.

But the Confederacy and their associates were no doubt, concealing their political ambitions under the garb of noble religious sentiments. Perhaps they were not ignorant of the fact that in Central Asia the Turkish Muslim ladies were allowed a freer life and were associated in the administration as queen-regents and queen¹¹. They were, however, not prepared to allow such freedom to Raziyyah Begum, who had already tasted it during the reign of her father Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish. For they well knew her powers and abilities and were convinced that she would not be a puppet into their hands. They, therefore, sought to upset the popular verdict by openly refusing to recognise her as their sovereign and made no secret of their plan to dethrone her.

Nizam-ul-Mulk Mohammad Junaidi, the Vazir (Prime Minister) also did not approve Raziyyah's elevation to the throne¹². When he deserted Sultan Rukn-ud-din, his motive was quite obvious, and he was justified in his action. But he could

not
/accept the fait accompli and appreciate the unique event when Raziyyah put on the crown at the request of the nation?

The reasons are not very easy to explain. Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi was sincerely devoted to Sultan Iltutmish and loyally served him as long as he remained in his service. He did not express any resentment when Raziyyah was nominated by the late Sultan as his successor. The contemporary historians do not explain his motives. Therefore, it may be only surmised that he was hatching for sometimes some fantastic whims and fell an easy prey to the intrigues of two main political parties, who were in search of such a ruler, who might play into their hands. Whatever be his motives, he could not be loyal to Sultan Raziyyah, though he knew her powers and capacities. And when the Confederacy directed their forces against Raziyyah, he joined the rebels and commenced hostilities against her.

Presence of Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi in the camp of the rebels considerably strengthened their position. Raziyyah viewed the development first with marvellous patience and busied herself to give a suitable reply to their queer logic and when fully prepared, she attempted to destroy their power. Pretending that they were fighting for a just cause - to enforce the Law of Shariat, the rebels gathered near the gate of the

¹³
Capital (Delhi). But Raziyyah well knew that they were fighting in reality against her on sentimental grounds disdaining the idea of a woman reigning over them. She also realised that they were attempting to subject the principle of succession to their sweet will, so that the nomination of a ruler could be valid only by their previous consent.

During the critical hours, when disturbances and dissensions were rife and rebels were marching together towards the Capital, Raziyyah remained firm and resolved to crush her enemies with all her might and means. She received full co-operation from the citizens of Delhi, who greatly assisted the imperial army. For it was feared that the success of the insurgent Malik would crush the citizens' right which they had enjoyed since the time when Malik Iltutmish was invited from Badam to assume the Crown. The defence of the city was immediately strengthened and the citizens rendered every possible help to prevent the occupation of Delhi by the insurgents.

Raziyyah's struggle with the nobles continued for a long time,¹⁴ and without any result. When she found herself surrounded with enemies on all sides, she like Maria Theresa of Austria made fervent appeals for help. Malik Nusrat-ud-din¹⁵ Taysi, who was then governor of Oudh, immediately proceed-

ed towards Delhi at the head of his army to render all possible to his sovereign. But before he could cross the Ganges, the rebellious Maliks pounced upon him and captured him. Shortly there after he died in prison owing to an illness which had overtaken¹⁶ him. Malik Izzud-din Balban Kishlu Khan was also taken prisoner by the hostile Maliks, but he was soon released and treated with great honour by Raziyyah.¹⁷

The Fair Sultan's fortune now seemed to be at the lowest ebb. The situation was apparently out of her control. Her army proved no match for the rebels's forces who continued to demonstrate their power for sometimes at the city gate. She, however, did not give up hope and now depended more on her diplomatic art than on the imperial army. What she could not get by open warfare she sought to achieve by tact and diplomacy. She came out of the Capital and ordered her tents to be pitched at a place on the bank of Jamna.¹⁸ The conflict continued unabated and no end seemed to be in sight. While the skirmishes were going on Raziyyah succeeded in sowing the seed of dissention among her enemies, adroitly manipulating their mutual jealousies, squabbles, and personal ambitions. She won over Malik Izz-ud-din Mohammad Salari of Badaun, and Malik Izz-ud-din Kabit Khan and induced them to arrest and imprison Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi,¹⁹ Malik Jani and Malik Kochi. She spread the news

of this secret agreement among the latter, who thereupon became panicky and perplexed. They even distrusted each other, and took to heels for their safety²⁰. Raziyyah sent her cavalry to pursue them. Malik Kochi and his brother Fakhr-ud-din were seized and put to death²¹. Malik Jani also met a similar fate. He was captured and beheaded near Pacl²². Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi fled to Bardar Hill and after sometimes he died there as a lonely fugitive²³.

24

The first rebellion was thus completely crushed. The success gained over the rebels considerably strengthened Raziyyah's power and prestige and she now felt secured on the throne. More than these, it endeared her to the common people and the persons possessing common sense²⁵. The entire nation now acknowledged that she was a worthy successor of Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish²⁶.

Raziyyah's victory over the insurgent Maliks was one of her earliest marvellous achievements. She not only prevented the advancement of a mischievous political norm that would enable the nobles to make the Crown subservient to them, but also restored the dignity of the Sultan, which had been lowered in the eyes of general public by the conduct of Sultan Rukn-ud-din Feroze.

NOTES

1. TN.P.184; but Isami gives the date 635 A.H. See FS.P.127, l.2531;
 2. All the Persian writers are unanimous on the point that Raziyyah was an elected Sultan enjoying all the royal prerogatives that were reserved for a male sovereign.
 3. See Futuh-us-Salatin, page 127;
 4. FS.pp.126-27;
 5. TN.P.186, Minhaj informs that soon after Raziyyah's accession when law and order prevailed in the Saltanat, her Prime Minister Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi, Malik Jani, Malik Kochi, Malik Kabir Khan and Malik Izz-ud-din Salari, collected their forces together near the gate of Delhi and commenced hostilities against Raziyyah. Of the rebels Ferishta gives the names as Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi, the Prime Minister, Malik Ahsud-din Sher Khani (TF.P.68); Badauni avoids to mention their names, but Nizam-ud-din Ahmad gives their names as Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi, Malik Jani, Malik Kochi and Malik Izz-ud-din Iyaz (TA.P.66).
 6. Quran.4.4.34;
 7. Ibid, 18.24.31;
 8. Ibid, 21.33.32;
 9. Ibid, 21.33.33
 10. Ibid, 22.33.59;
 11. TN.P.328; Tarikh-i-Jahan Kusha (Eng.Tr.vol.2.pp.466,658); Nizam-ut-Tawarkh, pp.78,80; all these historial works point to the various role played by the women before the accession of Raziyyah.
 12. TN.P.186; TM.P.25; TA.P.66; TF.P.68;
His full name with the title was —
نظام الملک توأم الدین محمد بن ابی سعد الجندی
 13. See the Introduction to Awfi's Lubab-ul-Albab, but in TN it is — نظام الملک کمال الدین جندی
- Badauni in his MT calls him Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi. نظام الملک جندی
- Isami in his Futuh-us-Salatin does not mention this event.

13. TN.P.186; TM.P.25; TA.P.66, Nizam-ud-din Ahmad informs that all the rebels had previously gathered in the Court of Sultan Raziyyah, but Ferishta again states that the rebels came from all sides and gathered out of the Capital. See page, 68.
14. TN.P.186; TM.P.25;
15. Tabaqat-i-Akbari calls him Malik Izz-ud-din Hansi, p.66; Ferishta gives the name 'Malik Naser' only. He was one of the slaves of Sultan Muiz-ud-din (Mohammad Ghori). He was a Turk of short sight, but God had adorned him with all manly virtues and humanity and he was endowed with great resolution, gallantry and vigour and possessed perfect sense and sagacity. When Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish ascended the throne, he employed him. He served the Sultan first as the feudatory of Jind, Bharwala and Hansi and after the conquest of Gwalior he was placed in charge of Bhiyana and Sultan Kot and the management of the territory of Gwalior was also entrusted to him. Soon thereafter he was allowed to reside in the fort of Gwalior and the contingents of Qanuj, Mahi and Mahun were placed under his control in order that he might conquer Kalinjar and Chanderi. In 631 A.H., he attempted the conquest and won a crowning victory over the Raja of Kalinjar. Vast booty fell into his hands so that the Sultan's fifth share was set down as 25 lakhs of Jitals.

After this defeat, the Hindus again attempted to regain their lost territories and the Rana of Ajar, Chahir by name, made a surprise attack on the Muslim forces in the defiles. Malik Nusrat-ud-din could not withhold his appreciation for the Rana when he could not lead the Muslim forces through their own routes : "Through the Divine favour, never in Hindustan an enemy had seen my back, but on that day that Hindu fellow fell upon me like a wolf upon a flock of sheep". In the battle the Rana's forces displayed marvellous courage, but eventually the Muslims gained victory and Malik Nusrat-ud-din returned with his booty to the fort of Gwalior in safety.....

He was appointed governor of Oudh by Sultan Raziyyah, after the rebellion of Ghiyas-ud-din, son of Sultan Iltutmish, was quelled. Vide, TN.P.239.

16. TN.P.186; TF.P.68;

17. TN.P.268; "Malik Izz-ud-din Balban Kishlu Khan was a native of Khifchak and a man impetuous and gallant, of good disposition and the votary of Ulamas, upright and good men and recluses". Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish had purchased him from a merchant when he was before the fortress of Mandawar. At the outset of his career, he became Chashnigir and after he had served the Sultan for sometimes he was appointed as the Sharabdar before the fortress of Gwalior. Subsequently Brahmun was assigned to him in fief and after sometimes the fief of Baran was entrusted to him.

After the death of Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish, in the outbreak of the Turkish Amirs, in the camp of Sultan Rukn-ud-din Feroze Shah, at Tarain, he was the ring leader. He supported the cause of Sultan Raziyyah, but in the first rebellion of the Maliks against her rule, he fell into the hands of the rebels. Malik Nusrat-ud-din Tayasi died in prison, but he managed to obtain his release. He was one of the highly respected Maliks of Sultan Raziyyah. After her martyrdom, "Sultan Muiz-ud-din Behram Shah, who became the Sultan of Delhi, treated him with honour". (For further details of his life, see *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, page 268).

18. TN.P.186; TM.P.25; Nizam-ud-din Ahmed and Ferishta do not mention this event.

19. TN.P.186; TM.P.25, Yahya gives the names as Mohammad Salari and Kanjan, who were induced by the Malika to arrest their fellows.

20. TN.P.187;

21. Ibid;

22. Minhaj in his *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* informs that Malik Jani was killed between Babul and Nikwan- P.187; in TA(P.66) the author writes "Malik Jani was killed within the boundries of Pael", and Ferishta thus describes the event, "Malik Ala-ud-din Sher Khani was killed within the boundries of Pael and his head was brought to Delhi". See TF.P.68.

23. TN.P.187; TM.P.26; but in TA.(P.66) and TF(P.68) it is Sirmur (Sirmur Hill) where Nizam-ul-Mulk had died.
24. Minhaj and other writers inform that Raziyyah destroyed the power of her enemies by suitable actions and shrewd judgement, but the writer of Rauzat-us-Safa ascribes it to God's blessings. See Rauzat-us-Safa, vol.4.P.118;
25. FS.P.127;
26. Ibid;

CHAPTER. VI.

FROM CHAOS TO COSMOS.

After the suppression of rebellion Raziyyah Begum devoted herself wholeheartedly to the welfare of her Saltanat. The immediate problems were quite obvious to this far sighted queen and her past experience as the temporary head of the Saltanat greatly helped her to solve them. In order to lead her people from chaos to cosmos, she evolved many programmes and put them into effect with all the resources at her command. Here, too, her efforts were crowned with success¹.

The supreme need of the hour was to subdue the spirit of autocrats, prevent lawlessness and restore internal peace. Firmly seated on the throne, Raziyyah made it clear that no violation of law for the achievement of any purpose would be tolerated and any attempt to defy the royal authority would be firmly resisted. But at the same time she made it clear that she did not want to transform the Saltanat into an armed camp or establish a military rule. Consequently she sought to disarm the hostile elements and stamp out sedition by the liberal policy of clemency and forgiveness. Her liberality produced magical effect on her opponents and within a short time they became subservient to her².

Another and very important political achievement of Sul-

tan Raziyyah was the inauguration of a real organized system of central government and the administration of her empire on sound principles as suggested by the needs of her time. Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish had bestowed upon the empire an efficient and stable government and she had gained a first hand knowledge of it while she was a Princess. Therefore, she did not find much difficulty in re-establishing such a government— a Persianised³ government in the Indian setting. But she made certain changes for the sake of convenience and efficiency.

Raziyyah fashioned a highly centralised government. Instead of entrusting the royal authority to any Regent or Vazir, she proceeded to organize a number of ministries whose heads should be her loyal servants and not her masters. They would advise her on all matters concerning the welfare of the Saltanat, but take no independent step without the previous consent of their Sultan. She would determine all policies and her ministers would simply execute her will. True to the maxim "one reigns by work and for work", she worked hard and did her best to earn the gratitude of her subjects. Day after day she personally looked into the details of the government and like Katherine the Great of Russia, she kept a watchful eye over all the government officers. In a word she behaved as an absolute monarch.

Monarchical absolutism was, no doubt, the glory of the past. Raziyyah, too, believed in the theory of Divine Right of King : "The Sultan is the shadow of Allah on earth."⁴ Like her predecessors she, therefore, attempted to act as the supreme authority in the Saltanat. Like a Persian King, she was the highest executive authority and was assisted by a Council of Ministers, called Majlis-i-Khas (Imperial Council).⁵ Here she discussed with her ministers all important problems of her empire. Another Council called Majlis-i-Khilwat (Privy Council)⁶ consisting of the heads of the four principal departments kept the Sultan informed about the affairs of their respective departments. She took keen interest in their discussions as affected the welfare of her subjects and the integrity of the empire. The heads of the four principal departments were the following:

1. Wazir of Diwan-i-Wizarat (Finance Department)
2. Sahib-i-Diwan-i-Arz (War Department),
3. Sahib-Diwan-i-Insha (Correspondence Department)
4. Sahib-i-Diwan-i-Wikalat (House-hold Department)

The Wazir or Prime Minister was usually styled as Nizam-ul-Mulk⁷ (Administrator of the Kingdom), Muayyid-ul-Mulk⁸ (Helper of the Realm), Ain-ul-Mulk⁹ (the eye of the State), Sadr-ul-Mulk¹⁰ (Chief of the Kingdom), Wazir-ul-Mulk¹¹, (Wazir of the Empire). He was recruited from the Ahl-i-Qalam (Writers' Class)¹² as distinct from Ahl-i-Saif (Fighting Class). Being

Prime Minister of the Empire, he exercised authority over other ministers, but for his every act he was under obligation to secure the Sultan's sanction beforehand. His main concern was revenue and finance and in the discharge of his duties as a Finance Minister he was assisted by a band of clerks. He was occasionally given also the command of imperial forces and as such he supervised the expedition. He was assisted in his task of Prime Minister by a Naib or Deputy Prime Minister. He, of-course, ruled over a highly complex department.¹³

Next in importance to the Wazir was Saheb-i-Ariz or Defence Minister.¹⁴ He supervised the work of the Army Department. He was styled Imad-ul-Mulk.¹⁵ He reviewed the army, looked after the welfare of the soldiers and kept their muster-roll.

Saheb-i-Diwan-i-Insha was the third important minister of the Empire. He was variously called as Dabir-i-Mumalik and Taj-ul-Mulk.¹⁶ He was in charge of royal correspondence. He was assisted by a large staff of secretaries called Dabir. The Sultan's private Dabir was called Dabir-i-Khas.

The next or the fourth important minister of the

Saltanat was Saheb-i-Diwan-i-Wikalat (House-hold Department). All the administrators started their career in the imperial house-hold. A new entrant usually was given one of the following posts:-

1.	Chashnigir	17
2.	Amir-i-Majlis	18
3.	Sar-i-Jandar	19
4.	Saqi-i-Khas	20
5.	Tasht-dar	21
6.	Jam-dar	22
7.	Sar-i-Jam-dar	23
8.	Saqi	24

The imperial house-hold, in fact, served as a training school for preparing the government officers in the discharge of their duties.

Besides these, there were certain other central ministers, who were entrusted with important duties, but enjoyed a lower status. The most important of these was Saheb-i-Diwan-i-Qaza²⁵ (Department of Justice). He was known as Qazi-i-Mumalik, Qazi-ul-quazzat or Sadr-us-Sudoor. He was expected to be a man of learning and piety. He was highest judicial authority below the Sultan and exercised both civil and criminal jurisdiction. He was assisted in his judicial work by the Naib Qazi-i-Mumalik and a number of qazis. Every city and big town had their separate Amir-i-Dad²⁶(Judge) styled as Majd-ul²⁷Umara (the most glorious Amir), while the special Qazis were appointed for the army under the direct control of the

28

Qazi-i-Lashkar (the Qazi of the Army).

The administration of the Capital (Hazrat Dehli) was entrusted to the charge of the Kotwal-i-Mumalik and his staff. His rank was a little inferior to that of a minister, but he was regarded as one of the highest officials of the Saltanat.

The other important officers of the realm were the following :

1. Sahib-i-Diwan-i-Shughl-i-Ishraf-i-Mamlukat (Secret Service Department).
2. Amir-i-Akhur (Lord of the Imperial Stable) 29
3. Amir-i-Baheer (Head of the inland shipping Department)
4. Amir-i-Hajib (Master of Ceremonies).
5. Shahnah-i-pilan (Superintendent of Elephants).
6. Sheikh-ul-Islam (Chief Ecclesiastic of the Saltanat) 30
7. Sar-i-Jandar (Chief of the Royal Body-guards).
8. Mir-i-Imarat (Controller of Construction).

The Saltanat was divided into Iqta (tracts of land) or provinces, and each such division was placed under a governor. The smallest units of the empire were the villages; its life and administration continued to be the same as under the Hindu Rajas. But the provincial government was a replica of the Central government. Raziyyah was fully conversant with the fact that for the strength and stability, safety and survival of the Saltanat, it was essential that the Centre must establish and maintain close relations with the provinces.

She therefore appointed such Muqtas or governors whose ability and fidelity were undoubted . A shrewed judge of men, the fair Sultan well succeeded in her aim, for her nominees in the distant provinces faithfully served her. The new appointments took place soon after the destruction of the Confederacy.³¹

Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak and Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish were both eager to see that the wrong doers should not prosper and justice must prevail in the remotest corner of the Saltanat. For this purpose they maintained a separate department and personally supervised its work. Following their example Raziyyah also acted as the Chief Justice and dispensed even handed justice whereby she further endeared herself to her people.³²

For the defence of the newly established empire, which was constantly expanding, an efficient and powerful military force and a brisk espionage system were indispensable. Raziyyah paid her special attention to them. She was herself an experienced soldier and her victory over the rebels³³ gave her an obvious advantage to see how to maintain a well organized army and a well disciplined band of honest spies. Like Chand Bibi and Maharani Jhansi after her, she possessed not only extraordinary courage and martial prowess, but also

capacity to organise and lead the army into battles. She personally looked into the working of the Diwan-i-Arz (War Department) and was very strict about the discipline and welfare of her army. Like her predecessors she was Com-in-Chief of the imperial forces, but when internal affairs did not allow her to move out of the Capital, she appointed a reliable person to conduct the campaign and lead the royal army. Such an honour was received by Malik Qutb-ud-din Hus-sain al-Ghori, the Minister of War; he was sent to relieve the garrison of Ranthambore.

Raziyyah was likewise eager to see that the revenue system worked smoothly and the royal coffer squandered by her brother, Sultan Rukn-ud-din was filled in again and the financial position of the Saltanat improved. The sources of State-income were the same as permitted by the Shariat and as enjoyed by the previous Sultans.

In the selection of her ministers Raziyyah resorted to the principle : "Career open to talent". She assured her subjects by her words and deeds that she would be fair and just to all and she would make no discrimination on the basis of colour, creed or country. The main criteria for the selection of government officers are quite obvious from the redistribution of the portfolios that was done under her instruc-

tions, when she busied herself in the reorganisation of the administration of her empire.

Some of the important appointments that took place after her accession and suppression of the rebellion were the following :

1. The Wizarat went to Naib Wazir - Khwaja Mohazzab-ud-din and the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk was conferred upon him. 38

2. Army was placed under the command of Malik Saif-ud-din Aibak Bhatu^r, who received the title of Qatlaq Khan. He did not long survive and was succeeded by Malik Qutb-ud-din Hussain Gho³⁹ri.

3. Malik Izz-ud-din Tughril Tughan Khan retained his seat in Bengal. 40

4. Lahore was entrusted to Malik Kabir Khan, who had rendered valuable services during the rebellion of the hostile Maliks. 41

5. Malik Nusrat-ud-din Tabshi was appointed governor of Oudh after the death of Malik Ghiyas-ud-din Mohammad Shah, but he, too, could not long survive and was succeeded by Malik Qamar-ud-din Qairan Tamar Khan. 42

6. Malik Hindu Khan - the treasurer of Sultan Iltutmish was promoted to the rank of governor and Uchch was entrusted to him. 43

7. Badaun was placed in charge of Malik Ikhtiyar-⁴⁴ud-din Aitkin who was after sometimes appointed Amir-i-Hajib. After his promotion, Badaun was placed in charge of Malik Badr-ud-din Sanqar Rumi.⁴⁵

8. Malik Ikhtiyar-ud-din Yazbak Tughral Khan was appointed Amir-i-Akhur. Amir Jamal-ud-din Yaqut Habshi, who was Amir-i-Akhur during the previous two reigns, retained his position.⁴⁶

9. Malik Saif-ud-din Shamsi Ajami was given the post of Shahim-ul-Hashm (Martial of the Retinue).⁴⁷

10. Malik Taj-ud-din Arsalan was made Chashni-gir (Comptroller of the Royal Kitchen).⁴⁸

11. Malik Balban Ulugh Khan received the honour of remaining at the same post as before; he was Khasahdar during the reign of Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish.⁴⁹

12. Malik Ikhtiyar-ud-din Altunia was appointed the governor of Tabarhindah.⁵⁰

13. Malik Qamar-ud-din was entrusted the government of Kanauj.⁵¹

14. Malik Ikhtiyar-ud-din Qaraqash Khan was appointed the governor of Biana. 52.

15. Malik Taj-ud-din Sanjar Kitluk was nominated as the feudatory of Barn. 53

Sultan Raziyyah's reorganization of the government proved a great success. "From Debal to Lakhnauti all the

54

Maliks and Amirs maintained their obedience and submitted". And certainly this was no mean achievement of the fair sovereign of Hindustan.

Having freed herself from internal troubles, Raziyyah devoted herself to some more constructive works and introduced some reforms so that the Saltanat might achieve not only political power and prestige, but also economic prosperity and cultural ascendancy in the family of nations of her time. Here again fortune smiled on her and absence of any foreign aggression facilitated her task.

Raziyyah evolved a theory of Kingship and it was similar to that of Louis xiv - the Grand Monarch of France (1643-1715 A.D.). The theory of Divine Right of King was operative in the 13th century both in Europe and Asia. Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish had established an independent and real kingship in India⁵⁵. It was supported by the Turkish elements and thrived on Turkish spirit. The power of the Forty served as the main spring for the naurishment of Iltutmishian kingship. But this great Sultan never posed as a king before the Turkish officers, whom he treated as his equals. His immediate successor, Sultan Rukn-ud-din Feroze Shah was a Sultan, who did not wield the sceptre and indulged in the pleasures of Harem handing over his powers to her ambitious mother, Shah Turkan. The result has already been noticed

before. After a few months of his mother's misrule and high-handedness, the entire empire was in turmoil and the king was no longer feared and honoured. Sultan Rukn-ud-din ascended the throne by the support of the nobles and his downfall was hastened by the very nobles, who were once his chief admirers and ardent supporters.

Raziyyah could not forget the inglorious reign of her brother Rukn-ud-din and his ultimate end. She was a sovereign *de facto* and *de jure*. Conscious of her right and duties, she attempted to pose as a persian monarch with all the seriousness of her exalted position; and from the very beginning discharged her duties very seriously as a Sultan - God's shadow on earth, a Sultan with power, majesty and dignity.

We have no detailed record of Raziyyah's court ceremonies. Isami gives us only a partial description of her coronation, which, he believes, took place in 635 A.H./1237

⁵⁶
A.D. He writes :

۵۷	جہاں سر پہر شد جو خلد بریں	۵۶	بہ رونق چو دید یک نیزے جین
حریفان بزم کہیں خاستند	یکے مجلس خوش بیاراستند		
پس آں کہ زدند اندر آں بزم گاہ	یکے تخت زریں سران سپاہ		
بران تخت دخت سلیمان	بر آمد بہار شاد ارکان پند		
بہ پیشانی ستادند الی حرم	بر آں سان کہ در پیش شہاب الوہم		
درون سرا پیردہ جملہ زمان	برون سرا پیردہ شہر اقلان		
سران مہمت قبلہ بنادند سر	بہ حکمتی بنستند از جان کہ		
مراوراشدہ رضیۃ الدین لقب	کہ بہ دختر شاہ والایب		

Trans ; world

The entire/looked like the heaven. When the enemies perceived such beauties, they left the court and they themselves made beautiful arrangements for a meeting. There the Army officers placed a golden throne and the dignitaries of Hindustan asked the daughter of Indian Solomon(Raziyyah Begum) to mount it . All the members of royal harem stood before her. Then a curtain was drawn to conceal her from public gaze, (for she was a Muslim female sovereign observing Purdah). Behind the curtain stood all the princes and relatives of the new Sultan. Within the curtain only ladies were allowed to remain(with the sovereign) and outside the curtain brave and leading men of the Saltanat stood in two rows. She was given the title of Raziyyat-ud-din, for she was a daughter of a great king.

From Isami's account and Raziyyah's later attitudes it may be presumed that she maintained a splendid Court with a well defied code of conduct.

It is interesting to note that the Empress was called
⁵⁸
SULTAN - an honorific term for a male sovereign. Although she was a queen, she did not offer any objection to it, as she hoped it would please all the sections of her subjects. It was also with this object in mind that she endeavoured to act in the real spirit of a Sultan forgetting her own sex. She put on the imperial robes, assumed the royal titles, which were exclusively befitting a male sovereign, and appeared
⁵⁹
on the throne in an open Darbar.

⁶⁰ رَضِيَ الدُّنْيَا وَالدِّينِ

Her royal title was Raziat-al-Dunia-wa-al-Din -

She took another title- Sultan-ul-Azam, Jalalat-al-Dunia-wa-

61 حلاوة الدنيا والدين al-Din-

Ferishta is the only writer who gives an account of her reign under the title as "Malikah-i-Dawran Bilqis Jahan Sultan Raziyyah bint Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish",⁶²

Raziyyah realising the value of currency took keen interest in its issue. She struck coins which were in gold, silver and copper, and her royal title was engraved upon them. Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish was the first ruler to provide an imperial coinage for Hindustan. Imitating her father she did likewise and it certainly goes to her credit that the first coin to be minted in Bengal was her silver coin. No previous Sultan of Delhi had established a mint in Bengal. Raziyyah established a mint at Lakhnauti, which gradually rose into prominence as one of the important mint of the rulers of Delhi. 63

Raziyyah's coin are not only beautiful, but also display her artistic taste and broadmindedness. They contain the date and place of issue as well as her second title. And some coins have simply "Raziyyah" inscribed upon them. These are chiefly copper coins. 64

On page 216 of Numismatic Chronicle (P.111) for

1885 A.D., Gibbs writes:

"Syed Ahmed of Alyghur informed me that he had formerly a gold coin of this queen, but that it was lost with his collection during the mutinies. This gentleman's fame as an archaeologist renders it highly improbable that he could have been mistaken in the coin and I, therefore, consider the fact of this Empress having had a gold coinage to be established. Col. Dunely - the Political Agent of Dholpur also informs me that he had a square gold Mohar of Raziyyat".

Wright in his celebrated work "The Sultans Of Delhi : Their Coinage and Metrology", refers to Gibb's statement and observes:

"No gold coin of Razia are traceable, though Mr. Gibbs in the Numismatic Chronicles for 1885, P.111, P.216 refers to two of which he had heard" 65

But Singhal throws some very interesting light upon the hitherto rare gold coins of Raziyyah, which he found while examining the coins in the collection of Prince of Wales Museum of Bombay. He quotes Gibbs and then writes:

"Except this passing reference no gold coin of this queen are known to have been published and as such this is the unique gold coin of queen Raziyyah. The legend on the obverse and reverse of this coin are similar to the two sil-

ver rupees of this queen described and illustrated by H.N. Wright at No.161B and 161C of his Catalogue of the Coins and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi. These rupees were issued from the Lakhnauti mint and they bear the dates 634 and 635 A.H., respectively. As the marginal legend of our coin is obliterated, we can not say definitely about its mint and date. But the type and legend of this gold coin so closely resembles with the above two coins that we can safely say that our Dinar was most probably issued from the same mint, and in the same year. The noteworthy feature about these coins is this, that though they were designed of the same type, yet a slight difference in the arrangement of the legend goes to prove that they were not issued from one and the same die, but from three different dies". 66

Upto now very little is known about the gold coin of Raziyyah. However, some more than half a dozen silver coins of the Empress have been preserved. A visit to the British Museum, Museum of Berlin and Indian Museums of Calcutta, Bombay, and Baroda will bring them into view. Edward Thomas refers to two silver coins,⁶⁷ but Wright has been able to describe at least five coins of this fair sovereign.⁶⁸ Their study is interesting from historical point of view.

Of the coins described by Wright, the Coin No.161A does not seem to belong to Raziyyah and in all probability it is an issue of Sultan Iltutmish's reign commemorating the event when he nominated Princess Raziyyah as his successor.⁶⁹ The difference between *السلطان الاعظم* and *السلطان النعمان* is significant. Again, the date on the available silver coins is clearly mentioned, but the margin of the Coin No.161A is illegible and such an absence suggests that it is older than other coins and vir-

tuallly belongs to the group of coins issued by Sultan Iltutmish.

It may be noticed that Raziyyah did not allow her name to be inscribed on some of her silver and gold coins, instead she preferred to continue the memory of the golden past under Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish by maintaining his name and that of the Caliph whose investiture had added a lustre to the Shamsi Crown. It is from the word بنت (bint, or daughter) and the date that her earlier silver coins have been recognized.

Another peculiarity of the silver coin of the Malika is that they are of three types. First group contains her father's name without any trace of her name or title so that at first appearance it may be supposed to be a Shamsi coin, but the date suggests her coin. The second type contains the words رضى الدين which leaves no room for doubt as regards to her coin. The third type is a Bengal issue from the mint of Lakhnauti. It is from these coins that her second title - جلالة الدنيا والدین comes into view and they confirm that while her brother Sultan Rukn-ud-din contended himself with one royal title, Raziyyah assumed two royal titles :

1. رضى الدنيا والدین
2. 71 جلالة الدنيا والدین

One more peculiarity may be noticed with regard to these silver coins. Though their arrangement is similar, but the placing of the word ^{نبت} varies. In some coins it has been placed between ^{التش} and ^{سلطان}⁷² in others between ^{التش}⁷³ and ^{ملك} and in some others it is above ^{التش}⁷⁴

In size these silver coins are as big as the Indian rupee. The coins's diameter in the British Museum is about ⁷⁵ 3 cm.

Raziyyah's billions have their own charms. Her title ^{سلطان المعظم جلالة الدين} or ^{السلطان المعظم رضى الدين والدين} is found on the obverse, and the reverse displays the Chauhan Horseman and some Hindi words : ^{सी हमीर} 76

And next to billion are the copper coins, simplest in form and smallest in size. Here the obverse displays a legend - legend of the bull with Hindi words : ^{श्री समन्त देव} or the legend of the horse; and the reverse contains in rayed circle the simplest form of the Sultan's royal title - ^{رضية}⁷⁷ It is also noteworthy that neither Sultan Rukn-ud-din, nor Sultan Bahram Shah issued any copper coin.⁷⁸ They were the product of her keen interest in currency or she responded to the needs of her people for the small coins.

The value of Raziyyah's coin can hardly be minimised.

They do not throw abundant light, but significant. They indicate the extent of her Saltanat. They contribute an important chapter to the medieval history of India providing some very valuable information about the political and economic conditions of her time. It is also from these coins that India's relation with the foreign countries is ascertained and some curious facts about the Indian currency are realized. Next to the *Tabaqat-i- Nasiri* the well known contemporary chronicle, they undoubtedly constitute the most important original source of information about the reign of Sultan Raziyyah.

The Malika was a patroness of arts and literature as well. She was a master of sword as well as that of pen. She owed her success in no small degree to her education. She was well versed in the Holy Quran and read it with correct punctuation.⁷⁹ She knew two languages - Arabic and Persian and possessed sound knowledge of all the arts and subjects taught in her time.⁸⁰ She was interested in poetry and was herself a poetess. Some of her verses have come down to the posterity, though upto now nothing is known of her⁸¹ complete anthology. She wrote under nom de plume - Sheereen. She was highly praised in her time as the most learned⁸² royal lady. Being herself highly educated, she encouraged

the promotion of learning in her realm and patronised a number of literateurs.⁸³ Muizzi College at Delhi continued to impart training to the students. Likewise the Nasiria College served the student community and it was an important institute where seekers-after knowledge assembled together to quench their thirst and qualify themselves.⁸⁴

It certainly goes to Raziyyah's credit that the Muslim historiography, which had developed as a distinct cultural form before the advent of Muslims into India, continued to develop during her reign and found a master artist, who died during the reign of Sultan Balban. The celebrated Persian historian- Minhaj-Siraj belonged to the imperial court of the Malika. His *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* is the only reliable contemporary record of her time. The *Tabaqat* is a world history;⁸⁵ it describes Raziyyah's reign within a short chapter, but it is full of very useful information which provided the basis for other Persian works.

Music as an art had also developed before the advent of Muslims into India. When the Muslim soldiers had entered this country, music also accompanied them and the Arabo-Persian music began to influence the Hindu Music. Religious meetings organized by Khwaja Muin-ud-din Chishti, and his followers provided a platform for free contact of

Islamic and Hindu Music, for music, especially Quwali, became indispensable for the Chishti order. The Khwaja's band of Quwals sang every morning and evening and this movement greatly encouraged the spread of music. The ban imposed by Sultan Iltutmish could not be continued for⁸⁶ long, and was at last withdrawn by him. Since then the music claimed the attention of the Sultan and the subjects alike. Imperial Darbar pulsed with life within and without the palace, when the distinguished musicians touched the chords of their instruments. These musicians received rich rewards. In her love for music Raziyyah, however, could not be a Rukn-ud-din or a Puritan like Aurangzeb. She loved music as an art as did her father⁸⁷, and it was only as an art that she allowed music to prosper catering to the tastes of her subjects.

Raziyyah, however, displayed a lively interest towards the art of archaeology. Quwat-ul-Islam, Qasr-e-Safed, Qasr-e-Ferozi, Qutb Minar and other memorable buildings that came into light were before her eyes. Although she was interested, she could not earn the epithet of a great builder like her great predecessors. Still she has a great architectural achievement to her credit. She built the tomb of her father, Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish.⁸⁸ Though small in size, it is one of the richest examples of Indo-Muslim art. It is

also the oldest royal tomb in India, though not so old as the tomb of Sultan Ghari (Crown Prince Nasir-ud-din Mahmud). It is extremely beautiful and simplest in form. The Arabic inscriptions in the interior of the tomb have been so fairly and beautifully carved that their beauty can hardly be surpassed. An interval of more than seven centuries has elapsed, but the ravages of time could not destroy its intrinsic charm.

This monument consists of a single room, the interior of which is a square of 29 feet with wall ⁸⁹ $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick. It has an arched entrance in its eastern, northern and southern wall, the western side being closed to accommodate a series of ⁹⁰ Mihrabs. Its exterior is plain because most of the works have been left unfinished there. As a contrast the interior is richly decorated with engravings of text from the quran in Kufi, Tughra and Nastalique characters. Although geometrical and conventional diapers are interspersed, as scheme of inscriptional mural decoration this interior is ⁹¹ exceptionally fine example.

In the room there is marble plinth at the centre, i.e., over the grave. Over this plinth a block of marble in the shape of a casket has been fixed and over the casket is placed the sarcophagus, that is usually seen over the grave of a Mohammadan. The entire monument thus formed is ⁹² seven feet and seven inches high.

The arches and doors have their own beauty. The three⁹³ doors are 16 feet high and 7 feet wide. Even the pillars out of which spring the arches are of great beauty. But the slender attached shafts from which spring the diagonal arches converting the square into an octagon are of the most delicate workmanship.⁹⁴

Fergusson doubts that there was a roof to this tomb. He imagines that "it was never completed, nor ever commenced". Carr Stephen, on the other hand, agrees with General Cunningham that it was originally covered by an overlapping dome and remarks, "From the remains on the top of the southern wall of the tomb, which I examined, I am perfectly satisfied that there was a roof on the tomb."⁹⁵

Brown also believes that the tomb was built with roof, "which although most of it has fallen was probably some form of shallow dome."⁹⁶

The method used in the construction of the roof is of great interest for the archaeologists. It is known as "Squinch".⁹⁷ Brown finds some defects in this system, wherefor the roof or the shallow dome collapsed.⁹⁸ But for such a loss the method and its principle can not be held responsible. There was, of-course, no dearth of building engineers, who devised method for such marvel as Qutb Minar. For the unfinished work on the exterior of

Sultan Iltutmish's tomb, and the collapse of its dome, the stormy days of Sultan Raziyyah's reign might be held responsible, which did not give peace to the Malika to complete the work she had undertaken. The work carried on in hurry was bound to suffer damages. Even without the dome the tomb still stands as a marvel of its own kind.

Sultan Iltutmish's mausoleum is the single architectural work that has been attributed to the fair Sultan, but she built also a tomb over the remains of Sultan Rukn-ud-din, who died in prison in the year 1236 A.D., and was buried near the tomb of Sultan Ghori in the village of Malikpur. This tomb is simple in shape - an octagonal domed chattry with chajja, and pillars of dressed stone. It is now in a delapidated condition. Perhaps the Malika must have build other buildings, Mak-tabs and Madrassas and Sarais for the benefits of her subjects, but their details are lacking. The two monuments built by her are quite different from each other in size, shape and beauty. While Sultan Rukn-ud-din's tomb has no attraction, save for the fact that it contains the remains of a Sultan of Delhi, Sultan Iltutmish's tomb is a master piece of architectural art.

With the tomb of Sultan Iltutmish the story of Indo-Moslem architecture under the Slave Dynasty comes to an

end and for a period of some six decades, with one exception,
no significant specimen of the architectural art came into
existence.¹⁰¹ For this reason, too, Sultan Raziyyah's reign is
remarkable indeed.

NOTES.

1. TN.P.187; FS.P.128; "چهار سیر پسر شاه چو قله بری"
2. FS. 128 - حکیمان بگفتند با یکدیگر
دو در دنیا چه آید مگر
هی راند مکه آن بزرگوار
پس که رشتن کمر بسته مراد کار
3. "The Sassanids had elaborated an efficient state-apparatus perhaps the most perfect in the history of Asia Minor". The Ghaznavids and thereafter the Ghorids preserved it and from these conquerors the monarchical traditions of Persia came into India where Sultans made full use of them as they could best serve the Saltanat's requirements both ideological and cultural.
4. This is a Persian idea having its origin in the theory of kingship of the Sassanids. A Sassanid Emperor's court was a holy place like a temple where he was honoured like an idol. When the Muslim power was established in Persia, the king could not be honoured as an idol as it was against the Islamic conception, but he was regarded as the shadow of Allah on earth and such an honour, for which there is a genuine Hadis, distinguished him from other persons and enabled him to exercise supreme authority in the empire. Utbi quotes the Hadis or saying of the Prophet at the beginning of the Kitab-ul-Yamini. See also Insaf-i-Makru, Letter I.
5. Every Muslim ruler is expected to conduct the affair of the state in consultation with the councillors and according to the injunctions of the Quran. In case of difference of opinion on any matter, "put thy trust in Allah". The council was merely a consultative body.
پیش کار از همه کنش کنی و بیک
زان همه کن که موافقت د بیک
(Amir Khusrau, Nuh Sipihr, page 165).
6. It was different from Majlis-i-Khas. Journal of Indian History (Madras), April 1935, P.97, confuses the Majlis-i-Khilwat with Majlis-i-Khas.
7. TN.P.183;
8. Ibid;
9. TN.pp.135, 173;

10. TN.P.183;
11. Ibid;
12. Adab-ul-Harb, P.138;
13. Adab-ul Harb, P.138; Zafarnama as quoted by Aziz Ahmed-
vide, ETED, P.346;
14. TN.P.224; Khazain-ul-Futuh, p.127;
15. Raziyyah created a new rank of the Commander-in-Chief of
the Army and conferred upon him the title of Katlagh Khan.
See, TN.P.187. Imad-ul-Mulk, who was paymaster general of
the Army, was also sometimes called upon to lead expedi-
tions. Vide, Khazain-ul-Futuh, P.60; Nuh Sipihr, P.58;
16. TN.P.183;
17. TN.P.232; Cashnigir supervised the kitchen and tasted the
food before it was given to the Sultan.
18. TN.P.238; Amir-i-Majlis was responsible for organising
Sultan's private parties;
19. TN, pp.236-7, 252; Sar-i-Jandar was Commander of Sultan's
body guards.
20. TN.Pp.242, 250;
21. TN.P.254; Tashtdar or ewer-bearer helped the Sultan in his
ablution.
22. TN.P.256. Jamadar kept the royal ward-robe;
23. TN.P.259;
24. TN.P.268;
25. Minhaj describes this department in his Introduction to
the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri as Diwan-i-Mazhir-wa-Muqam-i-Fasl-
Khushumat-wa-Qat-i-Dawan (Diwan for the redress of the
oppressed, decision of disputes and settlement of claims),
page, 3.
26. TN.P.188;
27. Ibid;

28. TN.P.177. During the reign of Sultan Iltutmish, the Qazi-i-Lashkar was Khair-ud-din.
29. TN.P.139; Qutb-ud-din Aibak first attained this position and then he was appointed governor of Kuhram and Samana.
30. For details about the nature of the office and function see Encyclopedia of Islam, vol.iv, pp.275-279. See also, Administration of the Saltanat of Delhi, pp.179-80.
31. TN.P.187;
32. TN.P.185; Minhaj writes about her :
سلطان رکنیہ بادشاہ بزرگ..... عادل... عدل گستروایت پیرو بود
33. DR.P.49;
34. TN.P.185
35. TN.P.187; TF.P.68. It is of-course, wrong to say that "She was not strong enough to give or accept battle". See Cambridge History of India, vol.111, p.58;
36. TN.P.186;
37. FS.127 - بیٹے اقبال تاج پیر سہیل - مگر از غم مملکت وارھید
38. TN.P.187;
39. Ibid;
40. TN.P.242;
41. TN.P.233;
42. TN.pp.186; 239;
43. TN.P.249;
44. TN.P.252;
45. TN.P.254
46. TN.P.261;
47. TN.P.276;
48. TN.P.265;
49. TN.P.285;

50. TN.P.251;
51. TN.P.247;
52. TN.P.250;
53. TN.P.256;
54. TN.P.187;
55. Minhaj calls Il-tutmish — **ظهر الله في العالمين** — See TN.P.165;
حضرت داؤد سيفزمايد واکسلون ظل الله یعنی سلطان سابع خوارزمش See Adab, P.283;
56. FS.P.128;
57. FS.P.128, 11, 2522-2529
58. No authority calls her Sultana, for it means wife of a Sultan or queen.
59. TN.P.188;
60. TN.P.185; FS.P.128; SDCM.P.40; Coin NO.161 A;
61. SDCM.P.41, COIN.No.161,B. The titles of all Sultans ended in **الدين** e.g. **شهر الدين** رضى الدين ركن الدين — Raverty contends that the new Sultan's name was Radiyat and not Raziyyah, for Raziyyat has meaning while Raziyyah has no meaning. But his view can not be accepted for it is not necessary that every Proper Noun must have a meaning. Again, no authority calls her Radiyat. Minhaj and others always write "**سلطان**". The writer of Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh tries to avoid the confusion by providing such a headline — "Sultan Bibi Raziyyah bint Sultan Shams-ud-din Altamsh" and then he gives the account of the empress wherein he uses her common title "Sultan Raziyyah". P.192.
- Sultan Raziyyah's title — Jalal-ud-din is mentioned in the inscription of Thakur Udhar, which records the construction of a well in 1280 A.D. There it is written in Nagri — **जलालुद्दीन**! See Chronicles, P.137; JASB.vol.xL111,1874, Part.1. pp.104-10; Asar. pp.73-81;
62. TF.P.68;

63. CCIM.P.7; Chronicles.P.109 - "As Altamsh seems to have been the first to provide an imperial coinage for Hindustan, so his daughter Razia would appear to have taken the initiative in extending the silver currency to the kingdom of Bengal".

64. Coins Nos. AE 170, 171, 171A, 171B, in Wright's Sultans of Delhi : Their Coinage and Metrology on page 43.

65. SDCM.P.76;

66. JNSI.vol.xvi,1954, P.126;

67. See Chronicles, P.109, Coins Nos. 90 and 91;

68. See SDCM.P.40;

69. See JASB, vol65, 1896, P.218;

70. See SDCM.P.40, Coin No.161 :

Sultan Raziyyah attempted to perpetuate the memory of the Caliph by engraving on her coins the titles *مصرّة أمير المؤمنين* and *اميرة المؤمنين*. Vide, Chronicles. P.109 and SDCM.P.40, Coins Nos. 161, 161B, 161D. But her predecessors called themselves *ناصر أمير المؤمنين* (Nasir-i-Amir-ul-Mominin).

71. This title is found in Nayachandra Suri's Hamira Mahakavya, a non-Muslim contemporary source. Vide, IA.1879,P.63;

72. See SDCM, P.41 for Coin No.161B;

73. Chronicles, Coin Nos. 90 and 91;

74. See SDCM.P.41, No.161C;

75. From Cities Of Mughal India), Page 14,
by Gavin Hambly, Figure 2,
Photograph by Win Swaan.) Actual Size
"Silver Coin of Sultana Reziyeh)
at Laknauti (Bengal)."

76. SDCM.P.42, Nos. B.166-168;

77. See SDCM. Coin Nos. AE 170-171B;

78. Neither Wright, nor Thomas has mentioned any copper coin of these two Sultans.

79. TF.P.68;

80. Ibid;

81. Fasih-ud-din Balkhi, Tazkira-i-Hiswan-i-Hind, pp.1-2;
82. Promotion of Learning, P.21;
83. TH.P.185;
84. TH.P.188; Minhaj was appointed Principal of this College after he returned from Gwalior.
85. Minhaj begins this history from the Creation of the world till 1260 A.D.
86. FS. pp.112-13; TF.P.67;
87. TA. 62,66; TF. 67,68;
88. List of Mohammadan and Hindu Monuments, vol.111, No.9,pp.20-21; Asar, P.24; AMRD.P.77;
89. AMRD.P.74;
90. Ibid;
91. IA.P.15;
92. AMRD.74;
93. Ibid;
94. List Of Mohammadan and Hindu Monuments, vol.111, P.21;
95. AMRD.P.75
96. IA.P.15;
97. Ibid;
98. Ibid;
99. Asar. P.24; AMRD.P.75;
100. Ibid;
101. IA.P.15;

CHAPTER.VII.

I N T E R L U D E.

During the reign of Raziyyah some important events took place that may well be characterised as significant, but they have been very briefly described by the contemporary and medieval writers. Some of these events have a long history, and others created history. Imaginative approach, if permitted, will enshrine them into volumes, but honest and systematic research will also provide enough materials to enlarge Raziyyah's short story into an authentic history revealing her great virtues, for they cover all important aspects of life - political, social, economic, and religious and they can be epitomised as riot, revolt, restoration, reformation and revolution.

One of the significant events that took place in the beginning of Raziyyah's reign was a religious riot in Delhi¹. Incited by the harangues of a religious preacher and saint named Maulana Noor Turk, the members of Ismailian and Qaramartian sects made a surprise attack on the congregation of Sunni Muslims, who had assembled for Friday prayer in the Jama Masjid². The rioters i.e the Ismailis have a long history.

The Indian Ismailies trace their origin even before the establishment of their independent state in Almut. That

their faith had taken deep root in Sind is proved by the fact that they had carved out an independent state there with Multan as the Capital in the year 373 H./ 983 A.D. Their first ruler was Jalam bin Shayban, who, however, remained loyal to the Fatimid Caliph whom he regarded his legal sovereign. The Ismailian state thus constituted lasted for more than a century, but the Ismailies regarded themselves as the subjects of the Fatimid Caliphs.³

The prosperous Ismailian state of Multan received the first serious setback when Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni wielded the sceptre. Abul Fateh Daud had rejected his predecessors' policy of appeasement and conciliation towards the ruler of Ghazni. Hence Mahmud's wrath fell upon him, for he regarded the Ismailian ruler as a heretic. He twice invaded Multan and in the battle that took place he murdered the Ismailies in hundreds. Daud was captured and put behind the iron bars, where he at last breathed his last.⁴

Sultan Mahmud's repressive measures, however, could not eliminate heresy from Sind. Out of fear the Ismailies deserted their state. But soon after the decline of Mahmud's dynasty, they returned to their homes and regaining control of Multan, ruled over Sind for over a century till Sultan Shihab-ud-din appeared on the Indian scene.⁵ The Ismailies were conscious of the precarious condition of their state on the foreign

soil, still they were averse to bow before the heavy odds and attempted to reply to every challenge that stated on their face. Henceforth, they paid special attention to the defence of their frontiers. As Minhaj informs, there were one hundred and fifty forts to guard and protect them from the onslaught of their enemies.⁶ Sultan Shihab-ud-din like his predecessor, Sultan Mahmud, could not tolerate their independent state when he attempted the conquest of Hindustan, especially when the Ismailies were opposed to him in his political and religious views. Treating them as heretics, Sultan Shihab-ud-din attacked their Indian strongholds in 571 A.H./1175 A.D., and completely destroyed them and killed a vast majority of them. Finding no room for safety and survival, the surviving Ismailies thought it expedient to migrate to far places, but most of them disguised themselves as Hindus.⁷

Sultan Mahmud had given a shattering blow to the Ismailian power in India and Sultan Shihab-ud-din completely wiped it out of existence. But the Mongol invasion of Central Asia proved a blessing in disguise for the Ismailies. The refugees who had escaped the Mongol's fury and reached Sind in search of asylum, sought to re-establish contact with their co-religionists, and thereby reinvigorated the dying Ismailism on the Indian soil.⁸ Unfortunately the Sultan of

Delhi also could not look upon them with favour. If on one hand, the Ismailies got life-blood from the refugees, on the other, they found the sword of Indian rulers hanging over their heads. These Sultans, too, had made it a rule, following the tradition established by Sultan Shihab-ud-din, to persecute them and crush them whenever they tried to assert their existence.

After a long interval, the Ismailies tried to assert their existence and power when Raziyyah came to the throne. They got an opportunity in the turmoil that threatened her empire in the very beginning of her reign.⁹ The Sunnis contemptuously called them Mulhids. The Ismailies found in Noor Turk an eloquent and dauntless preacher, whose speeches incited them to retaliate and teach them a lesson to those Ulama (religious leaders) who had made Islam an item of business to enrich themselves and were hankering after worldly pleasures. In order to launch a Jihad against their opponents, the Ismailies made elaborate preparations. First they silently made peaceful penetration into Delhi from Sind, Gujrat, Doab, and adjacent territories of Delhi and then on Friday, Rajab 6, 634 A.H./ 5th March,¹⁰ 1237 A.D., they made a surprise attack on the Sunni congregations that had assembled in the imperial mosque (Jama Masjid)

11
for prayer. They were nine hundred and more and all of
them were armed with deadly weapons.¹² They called the Ulema
Nasibis (enemies of Hazrat Ali), Murjis (who believe that
only faith is necessary and not good works), and hence they
condemned them to death. They entered the Jama Masjid from
two sides. One party entered from its northern gate and an-
other from behind the Muizzi College. Their surprise attack
resulted in the killing of numerous Muslims. In panic they
ran wherever they could and some succeeded in climbing the
top of the college. In the meantime, the news of the riot
spread like a wild fire throughout the Capital, and rescue
party soon arrived on the spot of occurrence headed by Imam
Nasir-ud-din Aitam Bilarami and Imam Nasir Shair and other
persons of Delhi.¹³ An angry mob surrounded the Ismailies
and Qarmatians within the Mosque and another threw missiles
upon them from the top of the colleges and at last after some
fighting the Muslims overpowered them and peace was restored
in the Capital. In this riot both sides suffered heavy losses
in men and money.¹⁴

In connection with this Ismailian or Qarmatian up-
rising it should be noted that while the contemporary histo-
rian, Minhaj describes it as an event taking place during
the reign of Raziyyah, Isami describes it as an event taking
place during the reign of Sultan Iltutmish.¹⁵ Among the later

medieval writers there is no unanimity upon this point. For
some of them like Yahyah have followed Minhaj, and others
like Nizam-ud-din Ahmad and Ferishta have followed Isami.
Badauni completely ignores this event.

There is no unanimity among the writers about the causes of this religious riot also. Minhaj and Yahyah give no definite reason save that the "Qaramitah and Mulhidah" were excited to kill the Muslims by the inflammatory speeches of Noor Turk. But Isami believes that it was a plot to kill the emperor (Sultan Iltutmish) and to occupy the Capital.

18 *صی خوارسندہ میان دھر - کہ شہ راکند و بکیرہ شہر*

Ferishta utilises this poetic line and mentions that the Mulhids of Delhi could not appreciate Sultan Iltutmish's policy that revoked the ban imposed upon music.¹⁹ It was a victory of the worldly Ulama over the orthodox ones. Therefore, the Isamilies, who were nicknamed as Mulhids, attempted to assassinate the Sultan, while he was offering prayer in the imperial mosque on Friday.²⁰

It is also to be noted that Minhaj's account of Nur Turk is not without a tint of prejudice. From the observations of K.A.Nizami, the following facts deserve careful consideration in this context :

(1) Sheikh Nizam-ud-din Aulia very feelingly asserts that Noor Turk was purer than the rain-water. 21

(2) A scholar belonging to Mulhidah sect could not have been reverently mentioned by scholars like Amir Khurd and Sheikh Abdul Haque Muhaddis as "Maulana Nur Turk". 22

(3). Sheikh Abdul Haque Mohaddis could not have included him in his calendar of the Indo-Muslim saints, if he had been associated with any heretic group. 23

(4). Raziyyah could never have thought of sending money to a member of the Mulhidah sect, for it was the declared policy to take stern measures against the heretics. 24

(5). If he had been one of the Mulhidah, Sheikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakar would not have gone to attend his sermons. 25

(6). On leaving India, Nur Turk went to Mecca and settled there. No scholar of Mulhidah would have been allowed to live like that in the sacred city of Mecca.

The Nur Turk episode, therefore, is not a clear case of Mulhidah activities in Delhi. Its real nature has been obscured by the conflicts and controversies that marred the relations of Nur Turk with the Sunni Ulama of the day. 26

From the remarks of the saints and scholars it is definitely clear that Nur Turk was not a Mulhid or heretic. It is possible that the revolt of Maulana Nur Turk coincides with the Ismailian uprising in the Capital. The Maulana hated the Ulama of his time, as they were seekers after comforts and luxury and were mostly engaged in materialistic pursuits. He expressed his resentment publicly in his lectures. In the beginning of Raziyyah's reign, when political condition was deteriorating and influence of religion was declining, there

sprang up suddenly a new movement. The Ismailies were once more determined to utilise the situation for re-establishing their position as a living sect in India. They, of course, failed in their attempt. Whatever be the nature of the religious riot in Delhi, Raziyyah successfully handled the situation and brought it under her firm control.²⁷

It would not be, perhaps, an over estimation of Nur Turk, if he be regarded as the first religious thinker in India, who wanted to stir up the conscience of the Ulama and religious preachers who were worshipping gold instead of God. In the middle Ages, the Ulama were highly respected persons. Their virtues and status in society have been very neatly expressed by a contemporary historian in the following words;

"All people know that after the apostles and prophets rank the faithful persons (siddiqin), martyres (shaheedan), and scholars (ulama). The scholars are included in the category of siddiqs and have preference over the martyres. The Prophet has said, "The Ulama are the heirs of the Prophets". He further says, "On the Day of Resurrection the ink used by the scholars will be weighed with the blood shed by the martyres and the ink of the scholar will outweigh and turn the scales... The world exists on account of the piety of the learned... The laws of Shariat.... are enforced by them... and things illegal and not sanctioned by the Shariat are suppressed by them... The religion of God stands firm due to them". The Prophet has said, "A single Faqih is a greater for Satan than a thousand pious men". He has also said, "If there had been no Satan, the sons of Adam would not have suffered; if there had been no pious men, certainly the wicked people would have been destroyed; if there had been no Ulama, certainly the people would have wandered

about like beasts".....The Prophet has said, "The best kings ~~and~~ and best nobles are those who visit the doors of the Ulama, and the worst Ulama are those who visit the doors of the kings and nobles".....The Ulama are much superior in dignity and status to others.....After them rank the kings.....28.

Maulana Nur Turk led an extremely austere life. His only means of living being a dang per day, which his freed slave gave to him. Following the tradition of her predecessors, Raziyyah once sent some gold coins to him. He beat the bag containing the gold coins with his stick and asked the royal messenger to remove it from his sight²⁹. If the Maulana openly denounced the Ulama of his time, who had developed the habit of crowding the courts of the kings, it was certainly a bold step in order to restore the dignity of the Ulama. Special aloofness of the saint from the Sultan and also emphasis on simplicity, purity, and austerity that is found in the very example of the saints in the second half of the thirteenth century and thereafter may be attributed to this first serious attempt at religious reformation that took place in the reign of Sultan Raziyyah.

The second great event that took place in the beginning of Raziyyah's reign was the rebellion, as has been noticed before in the 5th Chapter, of the nobles who could not submit before her and owe their allegiance to her.

Another event of importance that took place in the beginning of Raziyyah's reign, but after the suppression of the

first rebellion, was that the fair Sultan had sent a force to rescue the Muslims, who had been confined within the fort of Ranthambore soon after the death of Sultan Iltutmish.³⁰ The seige had already lasted for a long time during the reign of Sultan Iltutmish.³¹ But when the imperial army headed by Malik qutb-ud-din Ghorî proceeded against the refractory Hindus, they compelled them to flee, rescued the nobles and after regaining the fort returned to Delhi.³²

This event clearly shows that despite the conquest of Hindu states and consolidation of Muslim power in India, the Hindus were not fully reconciled to the Muslim rule and whenever they got an opportunity, they attempted to regain their lost territory. It also proves Raziyyah's zeal not to rule over a liquidated empire.

The next event that took place in the very beginning of Raziyyah's reign is not very significant, although it has its own importance. A punitive expedition was undertaken towards Gwalior and Malwa.³³ Malik Taj-ud-din Sanjar Qatlaq, the Muqta' of Badaun,³⁴ was placed in command of the imperial forces. In view of the difficult nature of the expedition another force under the command of Malik Tamar Khan - the Muqta' of Kanauj - was immediately sent to assist him.

Victory at last crowned the efforts of the Malik and his associates and they all returned to Delhi in the month of Shaban in 635 A.H.³⁵ Raziyyah was much pleased to see them back and rewarded them. In this expedition Malik Tamar Khan-i-Qiran had distinguished himself. The Malika honoured him by conferring upon him the Iqta of Karah,³⁶ and Malik Taj-ud-din Sanjar Qatlaque received for his services the Iqta of Srasati.³⁷ The victory considerably enhanced the prestige and popularity of Raziyyah. It was regarded as a good omen in the initial stage of her career.³⁸

From the eastern part of the Saltanat, too, Raziyyah received glad tidings of success and victories. Malik Izz-ud-din Tughril Khan was serving as her Viceroy in Bengal.³⁹ He made inroads into the territory of Tirhut and obtained vast booty. He sent rich presents for the Malika and thereby expressed his loyalty to her. Raziyyah acknowledged the gifts by sending for him a canopy of state and a standard.⁴⁰ Such an honour whereby he got the status of semi independent ruler of Bengal did not intoxicate the mind of the Malik. He did not involve into the plots and coups that were being engineered against his sovereign in the Capital. On the contrary, he remained loyal to her as long as she ruled over the Saltanat. It was not a "show of allegiance to Raziyyah", as Habibullah observes, but a triumph of her policy in the distant provinces of her empire. Minhaj clearly informs thus :

42 از ملک الموفق تا دیرل صہ ملوک و امرای القیاد نمودند

Next to these events came a series of Raziyyah's important announcements and startling innovations. They at first seemed thrilling but gradually they put her on the path of a hectic life. Whatever steps she took was not a freak of fancy, but a well calculated step towards a definite goal. She was fully conscious of the precarious condition of her throne. Rebellion of the Turkish nobles, uprising of the Mulaḥidah (Ismaillies and Qarmatians), revolt of the Hindus were not of small dimension and they all served as eye-opener for her. She was confident of the love and affection of her people, but she could not trust the nobles. She, therefore, resorted to a novel device and put it into force. In search of a band of loyal officers, who would efficiently discharge their duties and serve as defenders of her honour, life and empire, she showed favours to non-Turks and associated them intimately with the government. It was certainly a revolutionary step, but it came as a result of political exigencies. The Malika took the non-Turks into confidence and she put this policy into effect after the recon-
⁴³quest of Ranthambore. However, at the same time she endeavoured to humour the Turks, for she could not rely by totally excluding them from service as ever since the days of her grand father and father, they had occupied all important post and were recipients of highest honour and titles. Appointment of Malik Ikhtiyar-ud-din Aetkin to the post of Amir-i-Hajib and popula-

rity of Amir Jamal-ud-din Yaqut in the eyes of his sovereign , which provided opportunity to be near the very person of the Sultan as the chief confident, point to the bold step taken by Raziyyah. Elated by her success and undaunted by the ~~the~~ haughty spirit of the Turks, she continued to bestow her favours upon the non-Turks.

Raziyyah's reliance upon the non-Turks was acuated by another motive also. She was a ruler, who had to conduct the state-affairs by observing the rules of Purdah enjoined the Muslim women. She, therefore, needed a reliable person who might act as her two eyes outside the palace and acquaint her with real facts about the condition of her empire.

Moreover, she was a charming virgin queen and was not ~~not~~ ignorant of the difficulties that would surround her and create problems for her. There was no dearth of princes of royal blood or young Turks, but she, like queen Elizebeth of England, was prudent enough to realise that in the interest of her empire she must remain a virgin. She was already a mature Princess when she came to the throne and there is nothing on record to prove that she was a Juliet or Rosalind or a romantic girl. In order to maintain her hold upon the Turk princes she decided to be particularly kind to her Abyssinian officer, who had honestly served her since the death of her father. Yaqut

always remained loyal to her. He was, therefore, not only highly honoured by the Malika, but he was also fully trusted and consulted by this queen on all important matters. The Abyssinian faithfully justified her trust. Although he was of dark complexion, yet he was a man of virtue - good and gentle and true to the salt, as is evident from his services rendered to the Malika till he breathed his last⁴⁵. The young and intelligent Raziyyah was averse to a policy of racial discrimination as it was neither sanctified by the Shariat, nor by the civil laws established by her great predecessors. Besides, merit and not physical beauty counted much in the selection of officers during the reign of Qutb-ud-din Aibak and Iltutmish. Sultan Shihab-ud-din had selected Qutb-ud-din Aibak as his Viceroy in India, though he lacked physical grace. Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak favoured Malik Ikhtiyar-ud-din Bakhtiyar Khilji, though he was ugly and unattractive. If Raziyyah selected Yaqut for the post of Amir-i-Akhur and favoured him, she was confident of his inherent virtues. Yaqut's appointment was first made by Iltutmish, and he served his royal master as Amir-i-Akhur (Lord of the Stable). This was an important post and was filled mostly by the Turks. Such an officer had an easy access to the sovereign. No objection was raised when Rukn-ud-din Feroze allowed Yaqut to enjoy the same honour as was enjoyed by him during the

previous rule. State affairs compelled Raziyyah to take into confidence her Habshi slave, as she was still a Purdah-nashin Malika. But Yaqut's elevation provoked the jealousy of the Turkish nobles and the first Turk to feel offended was Malik Ikhtiyar-ud-din Aetkin, who got promotion at the same time,⁴⁶ and was always in touch with the Malika owing to the nature of his duty. Minhaj speaks highly of him thus:

47 "تہرک آراستہ و سیرد نیکو سیرت، خوبصورت و باعتماد و عقل کیا ست تمام"

Trans:

A well favoured Turk, a man of good disposition and of handsome countenance, dignity, wisdom and sagacity.

But nevertheless he could not endear himself to the Malika and gain more royal favours from her than Yaqut.

As a far sighted ruler, Raziyyah did her best to maintain a balance of power between the Turks and non-Turks in order to ensure the safety and prosperity of her empire. Her reorganization of the government was a great success. As Minhaj says, "peace was restored in the empire, power of the state increased considerably and all the Amirs and Maliks from Lakhnauti to Debal manifested obedience⁴⁸ to her! Therefore, when she made these minor adjustments, she less feared any objection, and if any, she was determined to face the situation with courage and determination, which she had already demonstrated in dealing with the first rebellion against her rule. For it was the keynote of her home policy to create

such a political party that would effectively reply to the challenge thrown at her by the nobles, who were no less determined to act as masters of the monarch and not as her servants. A tense situation thus developed after Raziyyah's glorious reign of three years and a half⁴⁹.

No doubt, home-affairs from time to time claimed the attention of Raziyyah, but she was one of the luckiest sovereigns, whose relations with foreign countries did not give any cause for concern and her reign was free from aggression.

Changiz Khan - the great Mongol Chief, who had carried death and destruction from Tamghaz to Indus in pursuit of the Shah of Khwarizm, was eventually removed by death in 625 A.H./ 1227 A.D. His last victim was Tingri Khan⁵⁰. Prior to his death, Changiz Khan issued a last firman asking his successor to massacre all the people of Tingri Khan and Uktae honestly fulfilled the order of his father.

After his accession, Uktae gave order to his forces to proceed to Ghor and Ghazni. The Mongols had already driven from Baniyan Malik Saif-ud-din Hasan Karlagh, the governor of the Shah of Khwarizm and forced him to pay a tribute. But they could not remain satisfied with this success, and in 636 A.H./ 1238 A.D., made a surprise attack upon him to capture and kill

him.⁵¹ Malik Hassan Qarlagh offered resistance in Kirman, Ghazni and Banian, but suffered defeat. At last when he could not face the Mongols, he fled towards Multan(Sind) with a hope to enlist the support of the Khokar-allies of his master, the Shah of Khwarizm.⁵²

At this time, Raziyyah had firmly established herself on the throne of Delhi. Peace had given her ample opportunities to work for the progress of her empire and fulfil her promises. Contrary to the expectations of her enemies, her empire was on its constant march to progress. Malik Hasan Qarlagh in his hour of distress and deep anxiety looked towards the Sultan of Delhi for assistance. Accordingly, his eldest son Malik Naseer-ud-din Mahmud reached the imperial court.⁵³ But the Malika like Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish adopted a policy of dignified aloofness towards the Mongols. She had no diplomatic mission abroad to ascertain the real situation of Central Asia, but the constant flow of the refugees into India from these lands served as the most reliable source of information for her. Iltutmish's conquest of Lahore, Multan and Uchch had transformed the north west frontier area into a part of his empire, and thereby obliterated the buffer state that existed between the Mongols and the Saltanat. Raziyyah perceived the danger on her frontier, but fortunately the sons of Chingiz Khan were occupied in civil wars which gave them little respite to evolve a programme of conquest of the distant territories. Hence the Malika did not listen to the overtures of the gallant Turk, Malik Naseer-ud-din Mahmud, though she treat-

ed him with utmost kindness. Barn (modern Bulandshahar) was assigned to him for his maintenance⁵⁴. The young Karlagh, after the failure of his mission, suddenly left Barn without any ceremony and reported the matter to his father, that the Malika was not inclined to involve herself in the war against the Mongols.⁵⁵

After the flight of Malik Hasan Qarlagh⁵⁶, the Mongols occupied Banian, Kirman and Ghazni. These territories remained in their hands till 639 A.H./1241 A.D.⁵⁷ But the Mongols respected Raziyyah's frontier in appreciation of her neutral policy. There was a good opportunity for them when Malik Kabir Khan had revolted in Lahore in 637 A.H. But they did not interfere in the civil war taking place in the Saltanat. On the contrary, their presence on the border facilitated Raziyyah's task in securing the rebel's unconditional surrender.

After three years of her accession, a sudden change appeared in Raziyyah Begum. One day she discarded Purdah, attired herself in the fashion of a male sovereign⁵⁸, and appeared in the Darbar before the nobles and leading dignitaries of her empire. She conducted the state-business once more recalling the grandeur of the memorable past when her great predecessors graced the throne by their presence. After she finished her work in the Darbar, she rode on an elephant and visited⁵⁹

the different parts of the Capital. It was for the first time that the citizens of Delhi could see their charming and beloved Malika without a veil on her face. She did her best to appear in the eyes of all as if she was not an empress but an emperor. Her people were immensely delighted to see her at the head of a magnificent procession and wherever she went, she received greetings and great ovations.⁶⁰

Being successful in her first attempt to have personal contact with the people, who were chiefly instrumental in elevating her to the throne, the Malika took another bold step. She made it a rule to give audience in the Darbar once a week. The nobles as well as the common people appreciated these innovations of their fair sovereign and were immensely delighted to see her face.⁶¹ Thereafter, she made it a rule to ride out of her palace every month. When the day approached, the Amirs and Maliks in their best costumes followed her in a procession taking position according to their rank.⁶² Thus six more months passed away⁶³ and Raziyyah governed her empire with ability and dignity.

Raziyyah's policy in behaving as a male sovereign needs some explanation. The contemporary historian, Minhaj doesn't give any reason. He simply writes :

64 " چنان اتفاق افتاد کہ سلطان رضیہ از لباس عورات و پردہ بیرون آمد - "

From his statement it appears as if by chance Raziyyah adopted all these measures. Yahyah, on the other hand, informs that the Malika was unanimously advised to adopt them.⁶⁵ Isami records them without any source save that "شديد"⁶⁶, but he ascribes them to her frivolities,⁶⁷ which is, however, absolutely wrong.

A.B.M.Habibulla's opinion in this regard needs to be quoted here :

"..... in the 13th century India, the monarch's firmness was the only justification for his existence. Courage and unflinching determination was to be her motto; in strength of character to prove herself "better than man". Details of her measures in this direction have not been recorded but it seems certain that by discarding female attire, and riding out in public and holding open courts which her opponents later pretended to consider as scandalous conduct, she intended to emphasize the firmness and vigour of her rule. It is also reasonable to suppose that 'favour' stated to have been shown to the Abyssinian, master of the horse, Jamal-ud-din Yagut, occurred about this time and was part of her plan to break the Turkish nobles' monopoly of all important offices".⁶⁸

With such dramatic performances that were essential ingredient of her home policy to preserve her control over her subjects and Saltanat, an important chapter of Raziyyah Begum's life comes to an end. From the account of Minhaj, it appears that she was firmly seated on her throne till 635 A.H./1237 A.D.⁶⁹ He does not mention anything untoward happening during her reign in 636 A.H./1238 A.D. Therefore, it may be conveniently supposed that the cosmos created by Raziyyah lasted till 637 A.H. 1239 A.D., when the second rebellion of the Maliks broke out. Whatever be the subversive activities of her enemies, there can be little

doubt that during this period the fair sovereign had created
a brilliant record as an able administrator and enlightened
monarch. She was a wonder of Hindustan and of the world.

NOTES.

1. TN.P.189;
2. Ibid; Minhaj does not call Nur Turk as Maulana. He introduces him with these words:.....شخصیہ دالشمہ کہ اورانور ترک گفتندی
3. RPI.191;
4. Ibid;
5. BSEI.P.19;
6. TN.P.418;
7. BSEI.P.20;
8. Ibid;
9. TN.P.189;
10. Ibid;
11. Ibid; the author of CHI seems to be confused for he thinks that the rebellion of Nur Turk and the uprising of the Ismailies are two different events taking place in two different reigns.
12. TN.P.189;
13. Ibid;
14. TN.P.190;
15. See FS.116;
16. See TM.P.24;
17. Cf. TA.P.63 and TF.P.67;
18. See FS.p.116, l.2321;
19. TF.P.67;
20. Ibid
21. Fawaid-ul-Fuad, P.198;
22. Siyar-ul- Alia, P.68; Akhbar-ul-Akhyar, P.74 ;

23. Akhbar-ul-Akhyar, P.74;
24. Fawaid-ul-Fuad, P.199;
25. Ibid, pp.199,200
26. Religion and Politics in India,P.294;
27. TN,P.190; آن سینه بیارمند
28. Tarikh-i-Fakhr-ud-din Mubarak Shah,pp.11,12;
29. Fawaid-ul-Fuad, P.199;
30. TN,P.187;
31. Ibid;
32. Ibid;
33. TN,P.247; on page 188 Minhaj mentions only Gwalior, but on page 247 he writes "Gwalior and Malwa".
34. TN,P.256;
35. TN,Pp. 188, 247, 256;
36. TN,P.247;
37. TN,P.256;
38. It is wrong to believe that "Gwalior had thus to be abandoned" FMRI, P.144. In order to gather information about this expedition one had to read pages 188, 247 and 256 of Tabaqat-i-Nasiri. No medieval writer except Minhaj has given any description of this early military success of the Empress. No doubt, the information given are scattered over his pages and the recovery of Gwalior was not an easy task, but Minhaj leaves us in no doubt about the success. He writes about Malik Tamar Khan :

"The Malik was an experienced soldier; he always succeeded wherever he was posted and performed great deeds".

Minhaj again writes : در ماه شعبان همین سال سلطان ارمنه
 موله نامریه در حضرت منجم باقینای گالیور بدین داعی مفوض فرمود
 (TN,P.188).

Trans:

In the same year in the month of Shaban Sultan Raziyyah entrusted the charge of Nasiria College along with the Qaziship of Gwalior to me.

Minhaj-us-Siraj, the Majd-ul Umara (Zia-ud-din Junaidi), the Amir-i-Dad (Chief Justice) of Gwalior were some of the notable persons who returned with Malik Tamar Khan. If Gwalior was lost to the Saltanat, it was impossible for Sultan Raziyyah to give charge of the Qaziship of Gwalior to Minhaj-us-Siraj.

39. TN.242; RS.P.75;

40. TN.P.242; The author of Riyaz-us-Salatin does not give any account of his exploits during the reign of Raziyyah. He simply writes : ".....during her the viceroyalty of Lakhnauti was bestowed on Izz-ud-din Tughan Khan. The latter devoted himself to the administration of the country and for a period was successful". RS.P.75.

41. FMRI.P.122;

42. TN.P.188;

43. Ibid;

44. According to Ferishta Sultan Raziyyah discarded Purdah in 634 H. See TF.P.68; but it is not correct for Isami clearly states:

چرا ز عید رخصت برآمد - دیگر که از عالم به تنگال
شعیر که از پیران بیرون افتاد - گذشت از صاحب دل به شوخی نهاد

(See FS.P.128, 11.2532, 2533.)

From the pages of Tabaqat-i-Nasiri it appears that she came out of the Purdah after the reconquest of Ranthambore and before the reconquest of Gwalior, chiefly when her fair name was being tarnished by accusing her of a love affair with Yaqut. Minhaj first informs :
درین وقت ... امیر علی الدین یاقوت :
راکه امیر آخو ر بود بخت سلطان رخصت کردی افتاد - چنانچه ملک و امرا از آن قرب غمخت آمدن گرفت -
and immediately thereafter he writes:

و چنان اتفاق افتاد که سلطان رخصت از این منورات دید و بران آمد -

(See TN.P.188.)

Yahyah, Nizam-ud-din Ahmed and Baduni record this fact following Minhaj. See TM.P.26; TA.P.67; MT.P.84;

45. FS.P.129;

46. TN.P.188;

47. TN.P.252;

48. Ibid;

49. FS.P.129;

50. TN,pp.376,377. He was a rich and well known Khan of Tingit. He was at first fortunate in concluding a peace-treaty with Chingiz Khan and he rendered valuable assistance to the Mongols' Chief, when he proceeded towards Chin and Khitar. As soon as Chingiz Khan reached Kara-Mur, he decided at the advice of his generals to kill the Tingri Khan. Thereupon, the miserable Khan sent through a special messenger the following message:

"I have not shown my perfidity towards thee. I came to thee under a treaty. Thou art acting perfidiously towards me and are going to act contrary to the covenant entered with me. Now give ear. When thou slayest me, if from me issued blood white in colour like unto milk, know that three days after me thou diest".

This message only hastened the death of Tingri Khan. However, when Chingiz Khan saw white blood of the Khan after the execution with his own eyes, he was struck with wonder and an unknown fear unnerved him so that out of this shock he suddenly collapsed and died. His death took place on 18th, August, 1227 A.D.

51. TN.P.392;

52. Ibid;

53. Ibid;

54. Ibid;

55. Ibid;

56. TN.P.270. Hasan Qarlagh was killed in an encounter with the imperial forces under the command of Malik Kashlu

Khan in 647 A.H./ 1249 A.D., while he attempted to occupy Multan. Thomas in his Chronicles wrongly mentions, "Saif-ud-din was eventually killed during this same year i.e after the departure of Hasan Qarlagh's son from Barn, at the seige of Multan by a troop d' elite of Ez-ud-din Balban Kishlu Khan - the governor of Uchch and Multan on the part of Razia. Saif-ud-din's generals, however, having succeeded in concealing the fact of ~~his~~ his death, were able to secure the surrender of the town". See page 92.

- 57. TN.P.392;
- 58. TN.P.188; FS.P.128;
- 59. TN.P.188; FS.P.128; according to Isami she rode on a horse.
- 60. FS.P.128;
- 61. Ibid;
- 62. Ibid;
- 63. Ibid;
- 64. TN.P.188;
- 65. TM.P.26;
- 66. FS.P.128;
- 67. Ibid;
- 68. TMRI.P.112;
- 69. See. TN.P.188;

CHAPTER, VIII

THE MARTYRDOM OF SULTAN RAZIYYAH.

The fourth year proved crucial in the life of Raziyyah. While she was at the zenith of power and popularity, a secret plot was being hatched to depose her by her enemies, who were opposed to her rule ever since she was proclaimed the Sultan-i-Hindustan (Emperor of India). Unable to carry on their sinister designs in the Capital (Delhi), they attempted to foment intrigues in the distant provinces so that their mischief might fall upon her as a bolt from the blue. They found in Malik Ikhtiyar-ud-din Aetkin a willy knave to execute their nefarious designs. He was Amir-i-Hajib¹ (Lord Chamberlain) of the Sultan and therefore an important officer of the empire. Finding no fault with the Malika so as to manipulate it to their own ends, they resorted to a very mean trick. By this time i.e 637 A.H./1239 A.D., it was quite clear to them that Raziyyah was determined not only to reign, but also to rule with all the powers and majesty of an absolute monarch. They became jealous of her power. In her determination they perceived the ultimate end of their autocracy and eventual languishing in disgraceful thraldom. They viewed with alarm the growing power of the Non-Turks, who were emerging as a political party and prospering under the aegis of royal patronage. They feared that with the aid of these new-

ly created barons, she would reduce them to mini power, so that they might act only as her servants and not as proprietors of the Saltanat. They, therefore, resolved to make Amir-Jamal-ud-din Yaqut, the Amir-i-Akhur² as their first prey, for they regarded him the devil who strengthened the hands of the Malika. Taking opportunity of his easy access to the Malika, they circulated base and false report that she was in love with her dark skinned Amir-i-Akhur. Their mischievous propaganda, however, produced little effect upon the people of Delhi. But Malik Ikhtiyar-ud-din Aetkin - the Amir-i-Hajib succeeded in making secret alliance³ with some of the provincial governors and incited them to rebellion. The first Malik, who hoisted the flag of rebellion, was Malik Izz-ud-din Kabir Khan⁴ - the governor of Lahore. Raziyyah immediately proceeded towards Punjab at the head of a large force, to bring to book the rebellious chief. The uncertain condition of the border areas owing to the presence of the Mongol hordes rendered any help unavailable to Malik Izz-ud-din Kabir Khan from his fellow conspirators. He, therefore, could not face the imperial army and was compelled to sue for peace. Raziyyah removed him from Lahore, but taking into account his past services, she entrusted to him the government of Multan⁵, which was then into the hands of Malik Ikhtiyar-ud-din Qaraqash Khan⁶. After making necessary arrange-

ment for the defence of her frontiers, the Malika returned to her Capital on Thursday, 19th Shaban 637 A.H./ 14th March, 1239 A.D.⁷

Raziyyah's firm action, no doubt, foiled the first attempt of the conspirators. But after a fortnight another rebellion broke out in Tabarhindah, where Malik Ikhtiyar-ud-din Altuniah repudiated his allegiance to the Malika.⁸ Malik Altuniah and Malik Aetkin were connected by a firm compact of unanimity and friendship and bond of intimacy.⁹ He, therefore, received full support and co-operation from him and his other associates. The intrepid Malika again girded up her loins to chastise the rebels and without caring for the heat of the summer and inconvenience of the fasting month of Ramzan, she marched forward with her troops and reached Tabarhindah on Wednesday, 9th Ramzan 637 A.H./ 3rd April 1239 A.D.¹⁰ As soon as she reached Tabarhindah, the Turkish nobles who had so far accompanied her, suddenly deserted her and treacherously murdered Amir Jamal-ud-din Yaqut, who was leading the main body of the imperial army.¹¹ His death weakened the position of Raziyyah and the rebels eventually succeeded in capturing her and sent her to the fort of Tabarhindah.¹²

As soon as the news of this successful coup reached the Capital, its people seem to have been stunned and those,

who were ever loyal to her, did not try to foil the attempt of the conspirators to place her brother Prince Behram on the throne. Their silence at this critical juncture of her life seems to be strange. But it may be attributed to the fact that without the support of the imperial army they could not offer any help to the Malika. Besides, their Malika was at a long distance from the Capital. The rebels' plan well succeeded and her absence from Delhi easily facilitated the change of government. On receiving the letter of recommendation from Tabarhindah,¹³ which instructed the conspirators in Delhi to install Prince Behram as the new Sultan, the Amirs and Maliks without any further delay raised Prince Behram to the throne. This event took place on Monday, 27th Ramzan 637 A.H./April, 21,¹⁴ 1239 A.D.

Raziyyah's success was the victory of the Crown and her defeat marked the reestablishment of the coterie rule of the nobles. The victorious Amirs and Maliks returned to the Capital and drew up a kind of Magna Carta to safeguard their¹⁵ interests and ambitions and placed it before the new Sultan. One of their conditions was that as the Sultan was young in years, he would leave for one year the administration of the Saltanat to Malik Ikhiyar-ud-din Aetkin, who would act as the Naib-i-Mamlikat (Deputy of the Empire).¹⁶ The King accepted their demand

and the nobles offered their allegiance to him on Monday 11th Shawwal 637 A.H./ 5th May, 1239 A.D.¹⁷ He assumed the royal title of Sultan Muizz-ud-din¹⁸ and appointed Malik Mohazzab-ud-din as his Wazir¹⁹ (Prime Minister).

Bahram Shah as a ruler, however, could not prove himself better than Raziyyah. After a year he became extremely unpopular owing to his bad character and was denounced as Zuhak of Hindustan.²⁰ The news of his wickedness and cruelty spread on all sides. Finding Raziyyah no more seated on the throne of Delhi, the Mongols found themselves free to throw into the wind the non-aggression pact with the government of Hindustan and once more decided to put into operation their scheme of conquest of Hindustan - a tradition established by their great leader, Chingiz Khan. Accordingly, they captured Lahore²¹ and included it into their empire. Foreign aggression and internal disturbances again created problem for those Amirs and Maliks, who had worked together in destroying the government of Raziyyah and then placed a ruler of their own choice on the throne. They were now determined²² to get rid of Sultan Behram Shah.

Malik Ikhtiyar-ud-din Aetkin was at this time most influential and powerful noble in the Saltanat. Raziyyah's imprisonment did not quench his thirst for power and taking advant-

age of his position and power he assumed some of the royal prerogatives.²³ For example, he kept at his residence an elephant and maintained a Naubat Khana where Shahnai was played in his honour to proclaim his superior status. He also married one of the King's sisters.²⁴ Malik Ikhtiyar-ud-din Aetkin's audacity, his encroachment on royal prerogatives, his endeavours to keep the king under his firm control at last provoked the wrath of Sultan Behram Shah.²⁵ The Crown that was offered to him was like a sugary pill bitter in taste, but he had swallowed it with a hope to obtain good result. The Naib's attitude, and his manoevers as the days rolled on made it impossible for the Sultan to come out of his trap and assert his own authority as an independent and absolute monarch. Finding no chance to release himself from the restraint imposed upon him by the agreement made with the nobles, the Sultan incited two Turks to kill Malik Ikhtiyar-ud-din Aetkin and Wazir Mohazzab-ud-din. This plot succeeded well and the Sultan's henchmen murdered the Naib in his presence. The Wazir was wounded, but he managed to escape.²⁶ This event took place on 8th Muharram, 638 A.H./ 30th July, 1240 A.D.²⁷

Malik Ikhtiyar-ud-din Aetkin's murder was a just reward for his constant treacherous conduct which shaped his life, incited him to work for the destruction of Raziyyah and encouraged him to keep Sultan Behram Shah under his firm control. His

death gave a fresh blow to the unity of the nobles and it amounted to a great personal loss for Malik Altuniah, who was entertaining great hopes after the defeat and imprisonment of Raziyyah. Finding no better than a hired fool, he resolved to listen to the dictates of his own conscience and act according to his own scheme. A novel idea struck his mind. He had in his custody the royal prisoner - the ex-Sultan Raziyyah. She was in his custody for ²⁸ ~~several~~ six months. He aspired to be the queen's consort and then lay claim on the throne. He wished to acquire it, if possible, even by force. Accordingly, one day he offered his proposal to the Malika and the miserable fair sovereign knowing no alternative, ²⁹ accepted it. a tragedy not uncommon in the East. Malik Altuniah ³⁰ married the Malika, who was so far a virgin queen, released her from the prison and after collecting a large force that consisted of the Jats, Khokars and other tribes of Punjab, marched with the ³¹ queen towards Delhi.

Prior to Malik Altuniah's march to Delhi with his wife (the ex-Malika Raziyyah) some significant events had taken place in the Capital. Malik Ikhtiyar-ud-din Aetkin, the Naib was ³² dead. The Nizam-ul-Mulk Mohazzab-ud-din, the Wazir was discredited. Malik Izz-ud-din Mohammad Salari and Malik Ikhtiyar-ud-din Qaraqash Khan had deserted Sultan Behram Shah and joined the party of Raziyyah. ³³ No new Naib was appointed and the post of Amir-

34

-i-Hajib was given to Malik Badr-ud-din Sangar. Malik Altuniah fully knew Sultan Behram Shah and kept himself fully informed about the happenings in Delhi. Taking advantage of the weak position of the king and dissensions among the nobles, he resolved to utilise the situation for his own ends. It was at the moments when the Maliks were in search of a new candidate for the throne and were making secret plans to depose Sultan Behram Shah that Malik Altuniah evolved a programme for the acquisition of throne or at least supreme position in the Saltanat. Hence he marched with Raziyyah at the head of a large force towards Delhi.³⁵

When the news of Malik Altuniah's movements reached Sultan Behram Shah, the King moved out of his Capital at the head of a large army and defeated Malik Altuniah and his wife in the month of Rabi-ul- Awwal 638 A.H./ March, 1240 A.D.³⁶ The forces of Malik Altuniah and his wife were, of-course, no match for the well trained and well equipped army of Sultan Muizz-ud-din Behram Shah, but more than the efficiency of the King's army was his own presence in the battle-field³⁷ that prevented the Malika from taking any active part against him. For Sultan Behram Shah was her own brother,³⁸ who had escaped death during the reign of Sultan Rukn-ud-din.³⁹ Still more, her marriage with Altuniah took place under compulsion.⁴⁰ For nearly six months, she was a prisoner in his hands.⁴¹ Malik Ikhtiyar-ud-din Aetkin's murder had disappointed Malik Al-

tuniah. But when Sultan Behram Shah began an experiment in personal rule and two of his ⁴²Maliks after deserting their sovereign joined the rebels, Malik Altuniah played with a new and grand idea for the fulfilment of his desire to become a ruler or acquire supreme power in the Saltanat. For this reason he married the fair Sultan of Hindustan, as he was convinced that her presence would enable him to achieve his aim. It was but natural that on seeing her brother, Raziyyah could not appreciate the aim of her husband, who was formerly a rebel and was mainly instrumental in bringing about her downfall. After the defeat, both Altuniah and Raziyyah fled to two different places and they could not unite again. She went as far as Kaithal, where she fell into ⁴³the hands of Zamindars, who sent her to Delhi. The same fate ⁴⁴awaited her husband, Malik Altuniah when he reached Mansurpur. ⁴⁵They suffered defeat on 4th Rabi-ul-Awwal; Raziyyah attained martyrdom on 25th Rabi-ul-Akhir of the year 638 A.H./ 14⁴⁶th November, 1240 A.D. She lived after her husband's death for 29 days more, for his death had occurred on 25th Rabi-ul-Awwal, 638 A.H./ ⁴⁷15th October, 1240 A.D. ⁴⁸

What befell the vanquished after the defeat as long as they lived is not known. Minhaj does not give any clue to ascertain the facts connected with their lives. He gives the follow-

ing information only :

49

سلطان رستم و التوتيه بنهزم شدند - چون بکيل رسيدند لشکري با ایشان بود
همه خلف نمود - سلطان رستم و التوتيه به دست خداوان گرفتار شدند و پسر دوشيه شدند

Isami, the 14th century writer, on the other hand, gives a quite different account of Raziyyah's life from her imprisonment till death. But he does not mention any source for it save that "I have heard". He writes :

"When the month of the year 637 passed away, Iltutmish's son, who was younger than Raziyyah, was seated on the throne. He was known as Muizz-ud-din. He was a Prince belonging to a race of the Turks. The Maliks called him Behram Shah. When one year elapsed, he forgot his promise (made on the coronation day) and gave himself up to sensual pleasures, so that the nobles and common people became disgusted with him. Whenever he perceived a beautiful damsel, he wished to obtain her by sheer dint of force or gold. He earned the nickname of a killer and was denounced as Indian Zuhak. During his reign the Mongols captured Lahore and became its ruler. When the stories of his cruelties and oppression spread throughout the Saltanat, the Shamsi slaves once more assembled and consulted together for the whole day and discussed together the political situation prevailing in the country. They said, "We could not find any son of Sultan Iltutmish worthy of the Crown. We elevated to the throne

two sons and one daughter of this Sultan, but one indulged in violent animosity and fell into furious fit of rage and the other behaved as an oppressor and tyrant. The third- the daughter of the Sultan through her own action threw the entire world into suspicion". These nobles were brooding over the matter and were in search of a new ruler that the Time suddenly raised a clamour.

Raziyyah was confined to Tabarhindah - a prison, and after this story when one year and a half elapsed, I have heard, one Turk named Altunah, who was a wanderer..... and hardly stayed at a place for one month, appeared in Tabarhindah with great pomp and show and occupied its strong fort and also

forcibly took the states of minor chiefs. He released Raziyyah from the prison and offered his suggestion before her. When she agreed, he married her. On becoming wife, one day Raziyyah told her husband in privacy about her future plans..... She asked him to march with her to Delhi and assist her in regaining the lost Saltanat. Altunah agreed to comply with her request. They spent three or four weeks in preparations and then Raziyyah drew out her sword and marched forward at the head of an army that consisted of experienced fighters belonging to various race and tribes such as Todars , Chatwis and Khokars. 51

Isami then informs that when Sultan Behram Shah heard the news of the arrival of ex-Sultan Raziyyah and Malik Altuniah at the head of a large force, he sent young Balban to repulse their attack. Balban inflicted a crushing defeat upon them and compelled them to flee from the battle-field. Raziyyah fled to Tabarhindah. When Balban returned to the Capital, Sultan Behram Shah celebrated the victory with great pomp and show and ordered for a khilat (robe of honour) to be conferred upon Balban.⁵²

Continuing this story Isami further states that three or four months after this event the ex-Sultan again collected a force and attempted to regain her throne. Again, Sultan Bahram Shah sent Balban to deal with her. Raziyyah suffered defeat a second time and her soldiers fled "as a bird suddenly flying away from a nest". The forces of Sultan Bahram Shah pursued them and killed them in thousands. Raziyyah became confused and fled towards Kaithal. There a group of Hindustanis treacherously cap-

tured Raziyyah and Altuniah and put them to death in a dark forest in the year 638 A.H. After this victory Balban returned to Delhi and reported about the defeat and death of Raziyyah and her husband. Sultan Behram Shah greatly rejoiced at these news and gathering his nobles honoured them. He distributed Khilat to every Amir and Malik and amply rewarded all soldiers.⁵³

The next writer who gives a different account of Raziyyah's death is Ibn Battutah. He writes :

"Raziyyah being deposed, her younger brother became ruler and ruled for sometimes as an absolute monarch. Later Raziyyah and her husband revolted against him. They marched at the head of their slaves and a following of political malcontents and prepared to fight against Nasir-ud-din. The latter attended by his slave lieutenant and later his successor Ghiyas-ud-din Balban marched against him. A battle took place. Raziyyah's troops suffered a defeat and she fled away. Overpowered by hunger and strained by fatigue, she repaired to a peasant whom she found tilling the soil. She asked him to give something to eat... He gave her a piece of bread which she ate, and fell asleep. And she was dressed like a man. But while she was asleep, the peasant's eyes fell upon a gown (qaba) studded with jewels which she was wearing under her clothes. He realised that she was a woman, so he killed her, plundered her and drove away her horse and then buried her in his field. Then he went to the market to dispose off one of her garments. But the people of the market became suspicious of him and took him to the Shahna (Magistrate) There he was beaten into confessing his guilt and he pointed out the place where he had buried her. There a dome was built over her grave, which is now visited, and people obtain blessings from it. It lies on the bank of the great river Jamna (Jun) at a distance of one farsang from the city".⁵⁴

Yahyah gives another version of Raziyyah's death.

He writes :

"In the month of Safar of the aforesaid year i.e 638 A.H./Malik Altuniah married Raziyyah and directed his Lashkar to obtain possession of Delhi. Malik Mohammad Salari and

Malik Qaraqash after deserting the Sultan (Bahram Shah) joined them. In order to foil their attempt Sultan Muizz-ud-din Bahram Shah came out of Delhi at the head of a large army. A battle took place in the vicinity of ~~Delhi~~ the city. Sultan Raziyyah and Malik Altuniah suffered defeat and when they reached Kaithal, they fell into the hands of the Hindus, who chained and sent them to the Capital(Delhi). They were martyred on 25th Rabi-ul-Awwal". 55

From Yahyah's account it does not appear that Raziyyah was killed by the Hindus. The later writers also are not convinced and so they make two affairs of this as of Raziyyah's defeat. According to them , after their defeat Raziyyah and Altuniah were either killed by the Zamindars, or they were brought in chains before Sultan Bahram Shah, who sentenced them to death.⁵⁶

After her martyrdom, Raziyyah lay buried in a tomb which is situated in the Muhalla Bulbulai Khan in the modern city of Delhi at a point where Sita Ram Bazar ends and near the Turkaman Gate. It is Ibn Battutah who for the first time mentions it. It is mentioned by Barani also. He writes :

"The Sultan founded the city of Ferzabad on the banks of of Jamna before he went to Lakhnauti the second time..... Eighteen places were included in this town.....(among others) the land of the Sarai of Malika, the land of the tomb of Sultan Raziyyah".57

Ibn Battutah mentions the place where the tomb is situated, but its builder's name is not mentioned in his Rehala.

xx Sir Syed Ahmad Khan believes that it was built by his brother⁵⁸ and successor Sultan Muiz-ud-din Baharam Shah. It consists of four walls without a roof. Each wall is 8.ft., 3 inches high, and it is made of red sand-stone and with the balustrade. The entrance gate is also of red sandstone and is 6ft, 3 inches high. In the centre of the enclosure which is about 35 feet square, there are two tombs on a raised platform. This Chabut-ra or platform is about 16 feet by 13. At the head of these central graves, there is a small masonry pillar, 18 inches high used as a stand for lamp. This is said to be the grave of R⁵⁹ Raziyyah. The other belongs to her sister Sajiyyah, who is unknown to history.⁶⁰ On the south east corner of the enclosure there are two other graves without any inscription. Therefore, it is difficult to give the names of their occupants.⁶¹ In the western wall there is a Mihrab (recess), which shows that the place was used as a mosque.⁶² The sanctity of the tomb of Raziyyah is emphasised by Ibn Battutah and local tradition.⁶³ But unfortunately this martyre's remains are still in a humble surrounding, though it is included among the protected monuments according to Article vii of the Ancient and Medieval Preservation Act of 1904 A.D. What an irony of fate! She had built a wonderful mausoleum over the grave of her father, Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish, but none could ever think to provide such a monu-

ment or a beautiful cenotaph for the martyred fair sovereign of Hindustan. She unquestionably deserves it. Her virtues and various services are now appreciated. Her achievements are, of-course, built on granite. With the fall of her crumbling grave, she will not fall into oblivion. On the other hand she will conspicuously shine forth in the galaxy of great Indian rulers with all her attributes and remarkable deeds.

At the news of Raziyyah's martyrdom her enemies greatly rejoiced, but no comment of any one of her supporters and admirers has been recorded. Her rise and fall were both amazing and strange enough to electrify the observers. Knowing no prejudices, the present world, however, might well acknowledge that she was a virtuous lady, a remarkable empress of extraordinary grace and abilities, a sovereign who promised to serve her subjects and served them with the minutest care of a just and wise ruler, a solitary figure in the history of medieval world, who sought to evolve a happy synthesis of autocracy and democracy and the first and last Malika of Hindustan who ruled over a vast empire with great success though only for three years, six months and six days. Of this fair Sultan, without any iota of doubt, it can be said :

Capax imperii nisi imperasset

NOTES.

1. TN.P.188;
"He was a Karah-Khita, a well favoured Turk, a man of good disposition and of handsome countenance, dignity, wisdom and sagacity. Sultan Iltutmish purchased him from Amir Aibak Sunai and he had served the Sultan long in every office and degree and became deserving of royal kindness and dignities of greatness. In the beginning of Sultan Iltutmish's reign he was made Sir-i-Jandar (Head of the Jandars) and after sometimes, for his services Mansurpur was given to him in fief. Sometimes after, Kujah and Nandanah were entrusted to his charge and on that frontier, he performed distinguished services. When the period of sovereignty devolved upon Sultan Raziyyah, she summoned him to the Court and assigned to him the fief of Badaun. After some further period he attained the dignity of Amir-i-Hajib...". For the biography of this Malik see *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, P.252.
2. FS.P.139,1.2569;
3. TN.P.251; Minhaj records that Malik Aetkin secretly reported to Malik Altuniah - the governor of Tabarhindah, about the political situation prevailing in Delhi and also about the mood of the Maliks against the Malika.
4. TN.P.188; TM.P.27; according to Yahyah, the Amir of Lahore was Malik Izz-ud-din Kanjan. Minhaj also refers to this name on Page 249 while giving a short biography of Malik Ikhtiyar-ud-din Qaraqash Khan Aetkin.
5. TN.P.233. According to Badaun, Malik Kabir Khan, after his submission, not only retained Lahore, but Multan was also given to him- MT.P.84.
6. TN.P.188;
7. Ibid;
8. Ibid;
9. TN.P.251;
- 10 . TN.P.188;
- 11 . TN.P.188. But according to Isami he was murdered one morn-

ing when Raziyyah was conducting state-business in an open Darbar wearing the dress of a male sovereign- FS.P.130

12. TN.P.189; MT.P.84; TA.P.67; TF.P.68- Ferishta has Bhatindah; Lub.f.11b, (Bhatindah). Isami gives another report about her imprisonment. According to him, one day while she was seated on her throne, attired as a male sovereign and conducting state-business in the open Darbar and Yaqut was murdered in her presence, the intoxicated and furious Turks having swords in hands surrounded her and fearlessly placed chains around her feet and made her a captive - Futuh-us-Salatin, page 130;
13. TN.P.191; TM.P.27. But there is no mention of such letters in Tarikh-i-Ferishta. According to Ferishta, the Turkish ~~Amirs~~ Amirs after sending Sultan Raziyyah to Bhatindah returned to Delhi and raised Muiz-ud-din Behram Shah, son of Sultan Iltutmish, to the throne. See Tarikh-i-Ferishta, page 68,
14. TN.P.191;
15. TN.P.252;
16. TN.P.191; TM.P.28.
17. TN.P.191. According to Isami this event took place in the 5th month of 637 A.H. See Futuh-us-Salatin, page 131 -
18. TN.P.191; FS.P.131-

چون تاریخ شد شش ماه دسی هفت - هج پنج دگر زیادت برزفت
 بے کوردک از رضیه به خرد تر - کہ بود بے شہ راستیں راپس
 نشانندہ اوراہ تحت کیاں - بستند ہر یک بہ پیشین میاب
 ہند الدین آن شاہ راقب شد - کہ شہزادہ بود ترکی لب
19. TN.P.252; TM.P.28;
20. FS.P.132;
21. Ibid;
22. Ibid;
23. TN.P.253; TM.P.28;

24. TN.P.253; TM.P.28; according to Yahyah, Muiz-ud-din Bahram Shah's sister had obtained divorce by the order of Qazi Nasir-ud-din's son.
25. TN.P.253; TM.P.28;
26. TN.P.192; Minhaj gives on page 252 a vivid description of murder of Aetkin. "The Sultan had plotted secretly for several times to kill Aetkin, but he did not succeed till 8th Moharram, 638 A.H./ 30th July 1240 A.D. It is said that the Sipahsalar (Commander-in-Chief) Ahmad Said came directly to the Sultan's presence and he informed him that some intoxicated Turks were ready to do their business. Immediately thereafter at the signal they descended from the upper apartment of the Qasr-i-Safed and came down in front of the dias in the Audience Hall where Aetkin as the Naib was managing the state-affairs and wounded him with a knife and thus martyred him. They inflicted several wounds to the Wazir, but he disengaged himself from them and escaped".
27. TN.P.252; TM.P.28;
28. ^{cf.} FS.P.132;
29. Isami in his Futeh-us-Salatin wants to make us believe that it was the queen who captivated the heart of her captor to regain the throne of Delhi- FS.P.132. But this account does not seem to be correct in view of the statement of Minhaj, who is an eye witness of the events of her life. Minhaj clearly writes :

چون سلطان / ضیاء بحمد و تبرک / تیر فتنه / مجوس کردند - ملک التوتیه اور اوتاد
کرد و در صالہ خود آورد

(See TN.190).

30. TN.P.190; TM.P.29.
31. TN.P.190; Minhaj here describes Malik Altunish's march to Delhi as his second attempt to acquire the empire. Perhaps

the writer keeps in mind the Malik's previous intrigues and attempts to usurp the throne.

32. TN.P.190;

33. Ibid;

34. Ibid;

35. FS.P.132;

36. TN.P.190;

37. Ibid; Minhaj clearly writes : *در ماه ربیع الاول سنه ثمان و ثلثی دستمایه سلطان معزالدین لشکر دهل به فتح ایشان بیرون برد*

38. See Rehala, page 34; Ibn Batutta writes :

"when after his father's death, Rukn-ud-din was acknowledged king, he inaugurated his reign by persecuting his brother Muiz-ud-din". This statement clearly indicates that Muiz-ud-din was Raziyyah's brother otherwise Shah Turkan and her son Rukn-ud-din shouldn't have included his name in the list of those whom they desired to kill for their own ends. Muiz-ud-din, however, was not killed and later became King. Isami also informs that Muiz-ud-din was Raziyyah's brother ;

یک کودک از روضه به خدمت رسید که بود لشکر استوارا

(Futuh-us-Salatin, page 131).

39. It was Prince Muiz-ud-din who became king under the title of Sultan Bahram Shah in 1240 A.D.

40. Minhaj explicitly writes : *اختیارالدین التوین سلطان رفیع را که تنید مجوس بود در عهده حمله خود آورد - بسبب آن اتصال بمرد آغاز نهاد -*
(TN.P.252.)

41. Isami writes :

به تنیده مجوس گشت - درین قصد یک سال و شش ماه گذشت
(FS.P.132)

But this long period of Raziyyah's confinement can not be accepted, for she was captured in Ramzan 637 A.H and Malik Altuniah married her in Safar 638 A.H.

42. TN.P.190; the two Maliks were Izz-ud-din Mohammad Salari and Qaraqash Khan.
43. TN.P.190;
44. TM.P.29 - Yahyah has Hindus. Minhaj also writes Hindus and he believes that the empress was killed by the Hindus.
45. Minhaj is the only writer who mentions Mansurpur. On page 252 of Tabaqat-i-Nasiri he clearly writes :
 اختيار الدين التتاي در حدود هندو پور گزشت
46. TN.P.190;
47. Ibid;
48. TN.P.252;
49. TN.P.190; Minhaj repeats this fact on page 192, but it is strange that he does not mention it when he writes a short biography of Malik Altuniah. See the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, page 252.
50. Vide, FS.P.131, ll. 2594-2611;
51. Vide, Ibid, pp.132,133, ll.2612-2635;
52. FS.P.134, ll.2636- 2669;
53. Ibid, P.134, ll. 2670-2698;
54. Rehala(E.D.111, pp.592-593); Ibn Batutiah recorded whatever he had heard. It is, however, wrong that Nasir-ud-din succeeded Raziyyah. It was Muiz-ud-din, who became ruler after her defeat in 638 A.H. The mistake is negligible in view of the fact that the author wrote a travelogue.
55. TM.P.29;
56. TA.P.68; TF.P.68; MR.P.301; MT.P.85 - Badauni writes :
 بہت کواران اشارہ سلطان بہرام شاہ قتل رسید -

{ در نواحی کیتل سعی بعضی از میند اران در شلم انجام }
 Mirat-ul-Alam (MS), f. 119; زن و شوهر گزنفشار شده با مین سلطان قتل رسیده
 { مین با ملک اختیار الدین دست }
 Mirat-i-Jahan Numa, (MS), f. 368; مین از میند اران گزنفشار گشته با مین بیژم شاه در مین شمس و مین قتل رسیده
 { هر مرتبه شکست بر رفته و التونه }
 Lub-ut-Tawarikh (MS), f. 363; افتاد و این هر دو در هر مینت آفریده است
 { از میند اران قتل رسیده -

57. E.D.11.P.332; .11.
58. Asar-us-Sanadid, P.25-26;
59. AMRD, P.78;
60. Ibid;
61. Ibid;
62. List of Mohammeden and Hindu Monuments, Vol.1, P.67;
63. See also Bis Khwaja ki Chaukhat by Hasan Nizami and Ganji-Tarikh by Mofti Gholam Sarwar qureshi. Giving the date of the death of Raziyyah Gholam Sarwar writes ;

چون رفته بمبوضی خلاص
 کرد حالت زردار خرن و ملال
 ماه لا ثانی است ترحیلش
 ملکه ملک جنت آمد سال

E P I L O G U E

Sultan Raziyyah Begum's martyrdom is one of the greatest tragedies of medieval India. Her wisdom won for her the throne of Delhi; her martyrdom gained for her the unique distinction of a queen who sat on the throne of gold as well as on the throne of hearts. She still enjoys the chief distinction as the First and Last queen of India. Nur Jahan's name on coins, her signature on royal firmans, her title of Badshah Begum obviously create the impression that she was an Empress of Hindustan. But a critical study of the legends on coins, of royal firmans and contemporary records point to the fact that she was not a de jure sovereign of India. It was to please this rare beauty and enhance her prestige in the eyes of his people that Emperor Jahangir placed her name on coins and imperial firmans and allowed her to give Darshan to the people. Thereafter, when the Emperor fell under her influence, he gradually associated her in the administration of his empire and consulted her on all important matters. Emperor Jahangir's fondness for wine made him entirely dependent on his wife and in reality towards the close of his reign, when excessive drinking shattered his constitution, his exclusive reliance on and full confidence in Nur Jahan's wisdom and ability made her all powerful and enabled her to act as the sup-

reme authority in the empire. Emperor Jahangir often used to say :

من سلطنت را بنور جهان پیشکش کردم - جنزید یک سیر شراب و نیم سیر گوشت
دیگر هیچ چیز نمی خواهم -

Trans:

"I have offered the Saltanat to Nur Jahan as a gift. I do not want anything save one seer of wine and half seer meat".

But here "Saltanat", of-course, does not mean sovereignty, which is indivisible, Emperor Jahangir did not create condominium in Hindustan, nor he abolished his hereditary right, nor even abdicated in her favour. Moreover, he did not even appoint her as the heiress-apparent. He only delegated some of his powers to Nur Jahan. She worked in reality as a Regent, although she behaved as a ruler. The coins were stamped with the names of Jahangir and Nur Jahan and only those firmans were issued under her seal which were of minor significance, otherwise all important documents, chiefly with foreign relations, received the signature of the Emperor. Moreover, Khutba, which is regarded as among the four essentials of royalty, was never read in her name. Nur Jahan was thus a representative of the empire or Naib-i-Mamlakat as was understood during the Saltanat Period. It was a second attempt of a Muslim King in Hindustan to associate a woman in the administration of the country. But the case of Sultan Raziyyah is quite different from that of Nur Jahan. Raziyyah

was an empress de facto and de jure.

The sudden and tragic death of Raziyyah needs explanation, but medieval writers do not seem to be in a position to explain its causes. While Europe and Asia tolerated a number of queens, medieval India seems to be almost bankrupt on this account. Raziyyah's elevation to the throne indicates the enlightenment of the Turks, her short reign is the triumph of tact and diplomace - a victory of the Crown, and her tragic end a sad commentary on the imperfect intellectual attainments of a section of Muslim nobility of the 13th century.

Queen Victoria was proclaimed as the Empress of India and was allowed to rule in peace, and her reign terminated only at her natural death. But this queen ruled over India residing in her own country and therefore she was considered as an alien ruler. On the contrary, Raziyyah was a native of India, who graced the throne of Delhi and resided in the historical city of Rai Pithora.

For the final catastrophe of Raziyyah's reign, which led to her death, some persons are prone to ascribe it to Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish. They opine that her father failed to perceive the difficulties that might surround her on becoming the Sultan. Such a view does not do any justice to Sultan

Ilutmish as well as to his illustrious daughter. For she had given enough proof of her greatness while she was a Princess and acquired many significant achievements before she became a ruler. Her virtues and achievement, verily, fully vindicated his choice of a successor.

It is really very unfortunate that such a remarkable queen has been condemned by a number of medieval and modern writers for having shown favour to her Habshi slave named Jamal-ud-din Yaqut. For this offence they withhold their regards for her and considering her as an outcast want to keep her in eternal forgetfulness. But it is not easy to efface her memory. Justice must prevail. Joan of Arc received the honour due to her though it took a very long time. And, therefore, it is hoped that Sultan Raziyyah, too, shall not remain crushed for ever beneath unjust criticism of her character. As a matter of fact, the medieval Muslim writers' account of her life betray their disinclination to probe into the matter and present it in its true perspective. They took one or two words out of the pages of the contemporary writer - Minhaj-us-Siraj and subjected it to their own fancy that gave it a rainbow colour, but caused great injustice to the once most popular queen of India.

Minhaj-u's- Siraj, the great historian, is the only

contemporary writer, who was not only an eye-witness of the events leading to the martyrdom of Raziyyah, but he was in her service and held a responsible post. He was, therefore, in a better position to know in detail the facts connected with her life. He thus writes about her :

1. سلطان رضیه طاب مرقدها، بادشاه بزرگ و عاقل و کریم و عالم نواز و عمل گستر
 در محبت پیروز و لشکرکش بود - و همه اوصاف گزیده که بادشاهان را باید داشت
 اما چون از حجاب میردان خلقت نیافته بود - اینهمه اوصاف گزیده چه
 سودش کند - رحمة الله علیه - در عهد پدر خود سلطان سعید طاب مرقدها
 فرمان داده بود -

This eulogy of the contemporary historian is highly significant and his lamentation is fully justified. For her great qualities of her head and heart could not save her from the cruel fate which threw her from the throne and banished her into the enemies' territories, where peace and comfort could not be expected. There is not a single word in the history of Minhaj, which may give rise to speculation that Raziyyah had any illegitimate connection with her Habshi slave Amir Jamal-ud-din Yaqut. Minhaj simply writes :

2. امیر جلال الدین یاقوت را که امیر آخر بود قریبى افتاد -

But these words قریبى افتاد suggested to other writers that the

Empress was in love with the Abyssinian or Habshi slave. In reality the offence for which the nobles of her time sought to prosecute her was that she had forgotten her own sex and promoted a non-Turk to a position that was previously exclusively reserved for the Turks. But these offences were deliberately committed by the Empress. Amir Khusrau informs us that she was actuated to do so by political necessities :

3 بریر از مردم شامی نقابش - ز پرده روئے بخور آن نقابش

These were her calculated steps whereby she wanted to safeguard her interest and inheritance. She had to fulfil the expectations of her father . Besides, she was not^a/weakling, but a wise ruler devoted to work for the welfare of her people, who had reposed faith in her ability to bless them with peace and prosperity. Therefore, she could not brook the existence of a party that was bent on creating mischief and make her a tool in their hands. It was her firm determination to rule that widened the gulf between the Crown and Nobility - a feature that was to take shape in England towards the close of the same century.

If Raziyyah could have satisfied herself by appointing a Regent to look after the interest of her empire, perhaps, she would not have suffered so miserably and enjoyed a long lease of life. But her ambition and past experiences

establishing her reputation as the ablest and wisest of Sultan Iltutmish's children prevented her from stooping so low as to make her dependents as partners in the empire and thereby make the Crown a tool in the hands of nobility. Moreover, the deteriorating law and order situation at her accession - a legacy of the previous reign - needed a firm hand. For the restoration of peace and tranquility in the Saltanat it was essential that she must destroy the mischief-mongers, adventurers and political opportunists. The Shamsi Malikhs, who had given a good account of their ability and loyalty during the reign of Iltutmish and Rukn-ud-din, could not tolerate her absolutism, especially when they perceived that after successfully governing the empire for three years she had come to stay on the throne, and if she continued they would find no chance to brighten up their prospect in the near future. Sultan Iltutmish had treated them as equals and, therefore, out of pride they were reluctant to humble themselves before a ruler whether he be a Sultan Rukn-ud-din Feroze Shah or any other else. And Raziyyah was more detestable to them as she was not of their own sex. Moreover, they regarded her a woman, who was constantly flouting the sacred laws enjoined on every Muslim woman and so she deserved punishment. Consequently, they engineered a plot to dethrone her and appoint a new Sultan,

who would act according to their dictates.

Raziyyah, however, was shrewd enough to know their mind and, therefore, she began to take steps to reply to their anticipated challenge. In fact, the appointment of Malik Ikhtiyar-ud-din Aetkin to the post of Amir-i-Hajib and elevation of Amir Jamal-ud-din Yaqut was but a vigorous reply to the nobles' conspiracy that aimed to put an end to her rule. By discarding Purdah she was in a better position to carry on her royal duties. By appearing in the dress of a male sovereign, she wanted to silence those conservatives who were against her rule on the mere pretext that she was a woman and also those who had a soft corner for her in their hearts. By riding through the streets of her Capital, she attempted to increase her popularity and enhance her prestige in the eyes of her people and maintain close contact with them. All these actions of the Empress were sure to be characterised by the 13 th century critics of social behaviour as extraordinary, but she well succeeded in her efforts. It was fear of popular uprising in her favour that prevented her enemies from attempting a palace revolution or a revolt in the Capital. Finding no chance in the Capital or in the palace, they resorted to a trick to carry her away from her people who loved and honoured her, and also from the Capital, which they dreaded as the strong-

hold of the Malika. Consequently they first falsely accused her that she was in love with her Habshi slave (Amir Jamal-ud-din Yaqut) and thereby they sought to discredit her in the eyes of her people and then they contemplated a plan to incite rebellion in the distant provinces. It was to foil their conspiracy that Raziyyah took the step of creating a party of non-Turks favourable to her. She was conscious of racial pride of the Turks. She belonged to their race. But her race had turned against her. She, therefore, began to show favours to the non-Turks and Yaqut's elevation to the royal favour was, of-course, in pursuance of this policy. But unfortunately as soon as the Empress put this policy into effect, she came to grief.

Can Amir Jamal-ud-din Yaqut's appointment to the post of Amir-i-Akhur be construed as a reckless decision of Raziyyah? Of-course, not. By including Yaqut among the dignitaries of the Empire, she certainly did not make any innovation. He was a slave of Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish and it was he who had pronounced his name as Jamal-ud-din Yaqut, and appointed him as the Amir-i-Akhur. After Iltutmish's death, Yaqut enjoyed the same honour and position under Sultan Rukn-ud-din Feroze Shah. And when Raziyyah mounted the throne, he honestly served her while the nobles were waver-

ing in their decision to offer their allegiance to her. In the hours of trial and turbulations Yaqut always upheld her cause and carried on her firmans. Therefore, Raziyyah also respected him and showered her favours upon him by allowing to retain his rank and including him among her chief confidants. It is certainly unjust to stigmatize the Empress for this act of kindness shown to Yaqut and assail her character. Yaqut does not appear as a prominent figure in the beginning of her reign. The rank of Amir-i-Akhub was enjoyed by another Malik also. He was Malik Ikhtiyar-ud-din Yuzbak Tughril Khan.⁴ This Malik was not a non-Turk, but a pure Turk being a native of Khifchak.⁵ After the conquest of Ranthambore when Raziyyah bestowed ranks and titles on her nobles, she did not deliberately sought to discredit the Turks by showing favour to Yaqut. On the contrary, Malik Ikhtiyar-ud-din Aetkin's appointment to the post of Amir-i-Hajib clearly indicated that the Empress was eager to secure the good will of the Turks as well.

It was, of-course, her nobles's hostile attitude that eventually plunged her to adopt a policy that was repleat with dangers. That a policy of open appeasement of the non-Turks would involve her in unforeseen difficulties was quite evident to her. But she was adamant and ready to suffer the consequences. The need of the hour was to maintain a balance of power

between the Turks and non-Turks in order to make autocracy safe in Hindustan and save the Crown from becoming a shuttlecock into the hands of the nobles. Of-necessity, Raziyyah gave preference and prominence to the non-Turks. In this respect, too, she made no innovation, but simply carried out an old tradition. Yaqut was a loyal servant of the empire, and his race, too, was known to be the refuge of the persecuted Muslims. "When the pagan quresh threatened the very existence of Islam, it was Abyssinia of all lands that the followers of the Prophet of Islam turned for help and assylum".⁶

Balal, the first celebrated Muazzan, was an Abyssinian whom no other man than the Prophet of Islam had given such an honour for his stentorian⁷ voice. Besides, Raziyyah was the head of an Islamic State. Following the Islamic tenets, she was bound to treat all men as equal and give equal opportunities of progress to all avoiding all distinctions on the basis of race and religion or colour and creed.

As a matter of fact, Raziyyah's nobles were not as much haunted by the idea of a female sovereign guiding the destiny of their race, as by the fear that if chance played into the hands of Yaqut, he would one day acquire the sceptre of Delhi for himself and become a Sultan. Isami has explicitly given vent to their feelings :

8. محبت نہ کہ گروست یابد گلیے ہے نص فاتمہ بگیرد رے

Moreover, these nobles became panic stricken when they perceived the excellent handling of absolutism by Raziyyah.

She was the first ruler eversince the establishment of the Saltanat, who attempted and succeeded in governing the empire as an absolute monarch. Her absolutism, however, was not a curse for her subjects. It was quite different from that of her contemporary Blanche of France, who acted as a Regent for her son, Louis IX (1226-1270), but in reality she was a ruler⁹. Her strong rule led to her denunciation as a tyrant. She died¹⁰ in 1253 A.D. On the contrary, the Indian Empress was very popular among her people. It was her power and popularity that became an eye-sore for her nobles. These nobles' jealousy and ambition constantly placed obstacles, while she attempted to perform her royal duties and they eventually hastened her premature death.

After Minhaj no medieval writer made a serious study of Raziyyah. It was in the next century that Wassaf only mentioned her name and we find that he had great respect for her, otherwise he would not have referred to her in his Tazjiyat-ul-Amsar or Tarikh-i-Wassaf and remarked thus :

"When he (Altamsh) died, he left two sons and one daughter namely Jala-ud-din, Nasir-ud-din and Raziyyah. His slaves Ulugh Khan, Katlagh Khan , Sankej Khan, Aibak Khitai, Nur Beg

and Minad Beg Ajami forgot their gratitude to their old master, attacked Jalal-ud-din and aspired to independence. Jalal-ud-din fled in the year 651 A.H./1253 A.D., and sought protection of Mongu Khan, Katlagh Khan and Sankez Khan. Taking alarm at Ulugh Khan's proceedings who followed Jalal-ud-din to the same court placed the virtuous Razia, the sister of Jalal-ud-din upon the throne and himself became administrator, guide, counselor and ruler".¹¹

Wassaf, no doubt, seems to be careless in presenting the sequence of events, but the adjective he uses before the name of Raziyyah is significant. There is a gap of only forty years, when he produced his history after the completion of Minhaj's Tabaqat-i-Nasiri. If the Empress were guilty of any offence, he would not certainly called her "Virtuous". And from his pages it is also evident that Shamsi slaves were all very powerful in the Saltanat especially Ulugh Khan.

The next writer who could impartially sing the victories and virtues of Raziyyah was Amir Khusrau. He writes about her thus :

12. از آن پس چون پسر کم بود شایان می خند آفتابش بود در میخ برید از صدمه شاهی نقابش سلی کش قوی به بنده و مشیت چهارم چون ز کار او ورق گفت	بر ختر گشت رای نیکرایان جو برق از پرده میزد بر تویش ز پرده روی خود آفتابش کی بر حرف او بنیاد انکسیت برو هم خامه نقد میرگد شیت
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It is true that Amir Khusrau discusses her reign within a few lines, yet these lines completely exonerate her from the clumsy charge to which she was unjustly subjected and reveal the status of this great poet as a stout defender of the tragic queen. It is certainly very strange that the medieval writers, who came after him, readily believed in the insinuation that was brought against him Empress and did not put faith into the words of Minhaj and Amir Khusrau, whose works they appreciated and regarded as the most reliable sources for the history of the Saltanat.

The fourth medieval writer who throws some light on Raziyyah's reign was Isami. In his eagerness to produce a masterpiece like Firdausi's Shah Nama he writes a history of Hindustan in musical metres, but he mixes fact with fancy. His imagination soars high and in consequence he gives a vivid picture of Raziyyah's reign in his Futuh-us-Salatin. He draws materials from old sources including Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, but presents it only when it becomes interesting and illustrative. Minhaj simply writes:

امیر جلال الدین کہ آسیر آخور بود بخدمت سلطان قریبی افتاد

But Isami plays upon these words آسیر آخور and قریبی افتاد and freely writes :

13 شہنیم نکلائے ز جنس حبش بادے در سواری بہر سرکیش
گرفتہ بہ یک دست بازوئے او بدادے سواریش بے گفتگ

It is of-course, he who for the first time not only discloses the opinion of Raziyyah's opponents before they took up arms against her, but expresses also his own opinion after she fell into their hands. He, however, does not directly blame her for her conduct. Giving vent to the feelings of her nobles he writes :

14 زنان جمله در دام اهرمن اند نگردی توان بر زنان اعتماد نیاید وفا از زنان بیع گداز زنان در ملا خوشتر از گلشن اند چو شورید نفس زنان یار سا بیزن مرد اگر استواری کند نشان خطر شده به هر جاز است نزیب به زن تاج دخت شیا جهان اری از زن نیاید نگو زن آن به که در پیره باشد نام	به خلوت همه کار شیطان کند نشاید بر آبر منان اعتماد وفا مرد شده هم ز مردان خواه ولی در جد به تراز گلشن اند به خلوت دهد با سکه هم رضا بر آن مرد زن ریش خندی کند خصوص آن که همدان آهرمن است که شد مملکت قسم کار آگاهان که در اصل ناقص شده است تحمل او به محنت کند خوش صلح و شمام
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15 هر آن زن که در پیره زنده بلند
سرش زود بر خاک باید نلند

Here Isami's statement might be accepted as true, for such bitter tirades of a section of Muslims against women was quite common in the Middle Ages. Isami, however, does not fall in line with such men and despite his tendency for imaginative

approach to facts, he clarifies the position of Raziyyah with such a remark :

16 "بہارے سواریش ہے گفتگو"

Of-course, there is nothing in Futuh-us-Salatin to suggest that Isami had no respect for Raziyyah. Whatever he writes about her, he begins with the sentence - "I have heard", It means that he is not responsible for the Raziyyah-Yaqut episode that is found in his book. He only put beautifully in black and white whatever he could get from the gossips of people or rumours circulating in the country. He thus writes:

17 شنیدم کہ از پردہ بیرون افتاد گذشت از حیا - دل بہ شوخی بنیاد

It is after describing how Raziyyah behaved as a male sovereign that he mentions the name of Yaqut. There is no element of romance here. If he writes : گرفتہ بہ یک دست بازو او : he immediately makes his position quite clear by these lines :

18 بد آن مر شاہ جہاں را غلام
شہنشاہ کردہ بود دست یاقوت نام
امیر آفرین شاہ دشمن کردہ بود
بہ فرمان رضیہ رضا دارہ بود

If Yaqut held her arm by one hand to assist her in mounting a horse, It must be a part of his duty as an Amir-i-Akhur. Isami never seems to be critical of her conduct. For soon thereafter he discloses the nobles's fear that was taxing their brain, their ideas in general about the women that is no less than an

inveterate harangue hurled at them and their plan to get rid of their fear :

19. مخمیر چو خورشید یاقوت را - بسیار بیم یکسر به کان فنا

According to Isami, Raziyyah's fall was inherent in the logic of time :

20. جواز عید رنیه برآمد سال - دگر سکه زد عالم به گال

After her imprisonment he again says :

21. دگر گونه نشد گونه روزگار - فلک کرد نقشینه دگر آشکار

Of-course, Isami depicts Raziyyah- Yaqut relation as that of master and slave, yet a host of writers coming after him freely indulge in expanding a harmless phrase into a romance of Raziyyah and Yaqut. Whatever be the merits of Futuh-us-Salatin, it can not be denied that by introducing the element of romance in history he set a bad precedent for the future writers.

It was ^{from} Isami's Futuh-us-Salatin that the Persian writers of the Mughal Period honestly drew their materials for the reign of Raziyyah and regarded it as indispensable source like the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri. In the absence of any reliable source they accepted Isami's statements as perfectly true and never thought for a moment to probe into the allegation levelled against this queen, and base their judgement on their own inves-

tigations. Isami in Futuh-us- Salatin appears to be a poet more than a historian. In the moments of ecstasy occasioned by legend or gossip that was at his disposal, he forgets to ascertain the truth about the incidents. His vivid pen-picture of Raziyyah is sorrowfully damaging, because some of its details are not confirmed by earlier sources that have come down to posterity. For example :

1. Isami's description of Amir Jamal-ud-din Yaqut assisting the Empress whenever she mounted a horse or an elephant.
2. His statement that Raziyyah was captured while conducting state-affairs in her Darbar.
3. Isami totally ignores the rebellion of Malik Ikh-tiyar-ud-din Kabir Khan, when the Empress began to behave as a male sovereign and introduces Malik Altuniah as an adventurer who never stayed at one place for a month.

22

بہ یک جامے گزشتہ قرار - گزشتہ ہرین گوشہ روزگار
 وہاں مردانہ برتہ زور - خوساں برآمد ابا کروفر
 بہ نعلت ہما حصن حکم گرفت - لے مرغیاں پر کم گرفت

4. Isami informs that Raziyyah as a prisoner in the fort of "Taba'indah" unlocked her heart to "Latunah", who had

occupied "Tabrizindah" by sheer dint of his martial prowess and induced him to recover the throne of Delhi for her. "Latunah" agreed to comply with her request.

5. Isami says that after her marriage with Altuniah Raziyyah twice attempted to regain her throne from Sultan Muiz-ud-din Bahram Shah.

6. Again, Isami's diversions may be seen in the description of the last events of the Empress's life. He creates the impression that after her defeat she fled to Tabarhindah and next time she took to heels to Kaithal.

In view of so many diversions unsupported by previous sources, it is not difficult to ascertain the value of Isami's art of portraiture. But it must be realised also that Isami composed his work in the Deccan; he resorted to the art of poesy and wrote rapidly; he had neither time, nor opportunity for making enquiry and had to record the facts and traditions he had taken from Delhi. 23

Next to Isami, it is from Ibn Battutah that we know something about Raziyyah. He writes :

"She ruled as an absolute monarch for four years. she mounted horse like men and was accused of connection with an

Abyssinian slave of hers. The army (Amnas) agreed to depose her and married to one of her relations and her brother Nasir-ud-din became ruler". 24

Ibn Battutah is often quoted as an authority, but in the case of Raziyyah he seems to possess very scanty knowledge about her life. Here he appears reckless and ignorant of events that took place during her reign. He mainly relied on gossips and legends prevalent in India at his time as well as on his memory more than on genuine histories and acknowledged sources. His account of Raziyyah's martyrdom has no basis in previous histories and acknowledged historical works. However, it is certain that he does not find her guilty, for according to him she was "married to one of her relations" and her eternal resting place was respected as a shrine of a saint.²⁵

Eight decades after Ibn Battutah's Rehala, Yahyah Sarhindi produced his Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi. It is a general history, but contains a brief account of Raziyyah's reign. His brevity in narrations of facts might be appreciable, but he has distorted facts connected with the life of the Empress. His Tarikh supplements the work of Isami. Describing the causes of nobles's jealousy for Yaqut he writes :

26 ملک جمال الدین یاقوت را عمدهٔ امیر آفری دار و محفرت مقرب گردانید -

So far he is following the previous authorities, but he adds

to it :

27 چنانچه امیر و ملک دیگر را غیرت آمد و چنان اتفاق افتاد که سلطان رفیق کلاه و قبا
بلوئید و لباس مردان کند - آخر همچنان کرد و از لباس ستر بیرون آمد -

The last sentence has no basis and only lends mischievous colour to Isami's colourful picture of Raziyyah. Yahyah leaves his readers in no doubt about Yaqut's guilt, for he proclaims in a poetic mood at the death of this Habshi :

28 چنان تافت دولت فر پیرامنش
چو داغ سیاه دید بردامنش

These two lines appear in some text of *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* in the short biography of Malik Ikhtiyar-ud-din Aetkin,²⁹ but it is certainly an interpolation.

After the death of Amir Jamal-ud-din Yaqut and imprisonment of Raziyyah, Yahya does not further carry his account and hastily ends it after a few sentences through which he informs about the accession of Sultan Muiz-ud-din Bahram Shah. He then again moralises in a poetic mood :

30 سر را که گردون بهار در بلند
همش باز در گردن آورد کند

Yahyah, no doubt, tries to give the life-story of Raziyyah, but it betrays his lack of knowledge about her life. His moralising is never upto the point and seems to be out of season. It is in the next chapter that he again picks up her

story and describes how she ^{was} eventually put to death.

Although during the Saltanat Period a number of writers produced their works that may well be termed as classics of all times, yet neither Zia-ud-din Barani and Shams Siraj Afif, nor Hasan Sijzi and Ain-ul-Mulk thought it prudent or necessary to do justice to Raziyyah. Her story could not be a proper theme for a historian, poet or a hageologist. After Yahyah no writer or poet presents the life-story of the Empress till the Saltanat becomes ~~extinct~~ and India sees the advent of the Mughals. During these years that cover more than a ~~century~~ and a half, she seems to be a ~~for-gotten~~ queen. It is after such a long interval that Emperor Akbar's interst in the histories of earlier rulers led to the compilation of a number of general histories, which acknowledged her as one of the Sultans of Hindustan, and presented her life-story, though in berief. Her memory was thus again revived.

In the galaxy of Mughal historians, Nizam-ud-din Ahmad tops the list. He completed his work in 1594 A.D. He was bound to refer to Raziyyah's reign as he was compiling a general history and she was an important character in history - a heroin of a real and great tragedy. But his pen picture of this Empress is no better than that was presented by Isami. He readily accepts Isami's statements and regards them as perfectly true. Like Yah-

yah he indulges in expanding a harmless phrase of Minhaj.

He thus writes :

31 جمال الدین (حبشی) یاقوت که امیر آفرین بود در خدمت سلطان رازیّه تقرب عظم
پیدا کرده محمود امرا گشت و بمهرتبه صاحب نسبت شد که در وقت سواری رازیّه را

دست در بغل کرده سواری ساخت

Neither Minhaj and Isami, nor Ibn Batuttaḥ and Yahyā mention that Amir Jamāl-ud-din Yaqut was promoted to the rank of Amir-ul Umara, but Nizam-ud-din Ahmad adds this title to the name of the Habshi slave and mentions no source for doing so. He makes another fantastic addition when he informs that Yaqut assisted Raziyyah in mounting her horse/elephant by placing his hand under her armpit and that she became her fiancée. Again, it was he who, for the first time gives the information about her death expressing his doubts ; "Sultan Raziyyah and Malik Altuniah fell into the hands of the Zamindars and were killed, and according to another verdict they were produced before Sultan Bahram Shah, who put them to death on 26th Rabi-ul-Awwal, 637 A.H." 32

In view of such glaring and baseless additions, Nizam-ud-din Ahmad might well be censured, but he was writing

in a totally changed atmosphere and for him Sultan Raziyyah had reigned in an almost antiquated antiquity.

Tabaqat-i-Akbari was the earliest complete general history produced during the Mughal Period. It served as the basis for other historical works, for example, Badauni's Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh and Ferishta's Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi (Tarikh-i-Ferishta, Baqi's Memoirs of Abdul Rahim Khan-i-Khanan or Maasir-i-Rahimi).

Badauni gives an account of Raziyyah's reign. But like Yahyah's it is not only brief, but also full of errors. Here he seems to be a blind imitator of the writer of Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi. In his hands the tragic queen further suffers miserably, for playing upon Isami's line (گرفتہ ہوئی دست بازوئے کار), he thus writes :

33... جمال الدین یاقوت حبشی کہ میرا نور بود محمد علیہ وصاحب نسبت گشت بمرتبه
کہ سلطان رضیہ در وقت سواری نیل واسپ تکیہ بر بخت و بازی ارمیکرد۔

Of-course, in exposing the guilt of Raziyyah, Badauni seems to be more prompt than Yahyah. He forgets in his zeal to record that Yaqut was killed, though he records that Yaqut was promoted to the rank of Amir-ul Umara. According to him,

34
he was imprisoned in the fort of Tabarhindah - a fact unsupported by previous histories. After mentioning this event, he ends the story of the Empress with four lines in verse in which he indulges in moralising :

35
مجو درستی حمید از جهان هست نیاد
که این مجوزه مروستی نیز ادا داشت
نشان حمید وفانیت در شبسم گل
بال بلبل بیدل که جائے فریاد است

It is in describing the next reign that Badauni again continues the story of Raziyyah till he finishes it with the tragic end of her life. His description of the final catastrophe is quite different. He seems to have consulted Isami and Nizam-ud-din, but presents his own views as he writes :

36
هم رهنه و هم التوبه بدست کواران افتاده باشاره سلطان بهرام شاه بقتل رسیدند

He then reproduces Yahya's poetic lines and sings in the same tune :

37
سرے کہ گردن برآرد بلند - همش باز در گردن آرد کند

Unlike Badauni the writer of Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi seems to take a lively interest in the tragedy of Raziyyah. After centuries he was the first man to probe into the allegations brought against her and record the historical facts so far as possible. Like Minhaj he is all praise for Raziyyah,

though he differs in some details from him. From his statements he unmistakably appears as the stout defender of the honour and prestige of the Empress, but it is sorry to say that his figurative words have been explained by some writers in the light of Isami's observations without any due regard to Tabagat-i-Nasiri of Minhaj. Still more, the translators of Tarikh-i-Ferishta totally ignore the last line in verse that is found in the manuscript and best text editions of this work. Ferishta, no doubt, follows Minhaj, when he thus extolls the virtues of the Empress :

38 سلطان رضیه: جمیع صفاتیکه یاد شاهان حاصل و کامل را باید محلی و منزلی بود - صاحب نظر
کار آگاه: بجز آنکه در صورت نسوان مخلوق بود عیبی دو نمی یافتند -

Unlike Minhaj, however, he records that the Empress began to rule dressed as a male sovereign in the very beginning of her reign, that is, in the year 634 A.H./ 1235 A.D., and acquired martyrdom on 25th Rabi-ul-Akhir 637 A.H./ 25th October, 1239 A.D. Again, following Nizam-ud-din he scrupulously writes :

39 جمال الدین یاقوت حبشی که امیر آخور بود در خدمت سلطان رضیه تقرب تمام پیدا کرده
امیرالامراء گشت و بمهرتبه صاحب نسبت شد - در وقت سواری سلطان رضیه راست
زیر بغل کرده سواری ساختی، از بیجهت بزرگواران ملک از او رنجیدند -

In other details connected with the later life of the Empress

he seems to have depended more on Nizam-ud-din than Minhaj. But he does not betray an interest in expanding a word or phrase like Isami or Yahyah or Nizam-ud-din Ahmad. He attempts to describe the plain truth that he found in the pages of these writers, who had preceded him.

It will be noticed that the words ترقی انتاد used by Minhaj, which gave currency to the rumour of Sultan Raziyah's romance with her Habshi slave, Amir Jamal-ud-din Yaqut, have been used by the same writer on four other occasions. Dealing with the reign of Sultan Rukn-ud-din Feroze Shah he writes :

40 چون سلطنت سلطان رکن الدین رسید شغل امیر محبسی باو (ملک اختیار الدین یوز بک
طغتل خان) حوالہ شد و مقبرہ گشت - بعد ازاں شہنہنگی پیلان اور افرود و بنایت ترقی
مخصوص گردانید -

Prior to this period, Minhaj used the words when he writes about qutb-ud-din Aibak's promotion to the rank of Amir-i-Akhur :

41 مہزیہ قربت و عنایت مخصوص گردانید -

Next Minhaj uses the words in connection with the Malike of Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish :

42 رضیہ را ولی عہدہ سلطنت کرد - و در وقت پیشین این فرمان بندگان دولت کہ حضرت
سلطنت او ترقی تمام داشتند

Again, he uses the words while giving the short biography of Malik Hindu Khan :

43 در خدمت سلطان (شمس الدین التمش) قریبی تمام داشت

From these sentences where Minhaj uses the word قربت it is quite clear that this word in the pages of Minhaj has no ambiguous meaning and it simply means "nearness". The post of Amir-ul- Akhur or Shahang-i-Pilan (Superintendent of Elephant) enabled such an officer to take his position near the throne and acquire royal favour and confidence. This is exactly what Minhaj wants to say and nothing else. But other writers treat it as a magic-box containing a secret and get an opportunity to castigate the Empress for having fallen in love with her Habshi slave. Ferishta repeats the sentence used by Yahyah : 44، در وقت سواری سلطان رفیق را دست در بغل کرده سواری ساخت، but he attaches no importance to it considering the role of an Amir-i-Akhur as is evident from his moralising towards the close of his narrative.

Ferishta makes use of all available sources at his disposal and at the close of his account of Raziyyah's reign leaves a post script appealing to the judgement of well informed persons to discover the truth and immediately thereafter he expresses his own views about the final catastrophe of her

reign :

45 عارفان دور اندیش دانند که این باد از کدام صحرای نیرخاست و گل دولت
رضیه را که امی تند باد از میخ برکنده آری - غلام حبشی را بامیر الامراء
دلی چه نسبت و مهر و دو خیس را به پیشوائی چنین مملکت تاجدار چه کاره

46 مخرج - این از ملک امت از حبش نیست

Trans:

The shrewd and intelligent persons know, who blew this wind of calamity and also know the storm that uprooted the rose and riches of Raziyyah. What connection has the Habshi slave with the Amir-ul-Umara of Delhi and what claim has the minion to act as the guide of the crowned Empress?

Verse. This (storm) rose from this country and not from the country of Habsh.

Or

This calamity was caused by a Malik and not by a native of Habsh i.e the Habshi slave, Amir Jamal-ud-din Yaqut.

And thus Ferishta exonerates Yaqut, though he does not disagree with Nizam-ud-din that he was promoted to the rank of Amir-ul-Umara. But it must be realised that the rank of Amir-ul-Umara was not created during the Saltanat Period.

It was for the first time that this title was associated with the name of Yaqut by Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, who seems to be quite ignorant of this fact. The verse ending the narrative fairly indicated that Ferishta held responsible a Malik for the great tragedy of "Malka-i-Dauran" (queen of all ages). He does not mention his name, but it may be conveniently supposed that Malik Altuniah or Malik Aetkin was mainly responsible for all the troubles and misfortunes that eventually terminated her life and rule.

Yaqut's innocence is further confirmed by Minhaj's words - شہید کردند (they martyred him). It is by common consent that the word "Shaheed" indicates a person who sacrifices his/her life for a just and noble cause. Yaqut, no doubt, died while fighting for his sovereign and upholding a just cause, for Raziyyah was not an usurper, but a duly elected Sultan loved and admired by her people. If she were otherwise, Ferishta would not have given her life-account under such fascinating title :

48 "گفتارِ ذکرِ ملکہِ دُورِ بلقیس جہاںِ رضیہ سلطان بنت سلطان شمس الدین التمش"

Trans :

Account of the life of the queen of all ages, Bilqis Jahan, Raziyyah Sultan, daughter of Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish.

The authors of Ain-i-Akbari, Haft Aqlim, and Maasir-

i- Rahimi writing in the same period, make no comment on Raziyyah's reign and do not find any fault with her as a ruler save that she was a woman. They give a brief account of the Empress. But she does not appear in their eyes to be unworthy to receive tributes from the posterity. Like Nizam-ud-din Ahmad or Badauni neither Abul Fazal and Mohammad Amin Razi, nor Abdul Baqi Nihavandi display any interest in recording Raziyyah-Yaqut episode. On the contrary, there is no mention of it in Ain-i-Akbari and Haft Aqlim.

Besides, There are other Persian chronicles, which do not include Yaqut's fables, e.g Zabdat-ut-Twarikh, Rauzat-us-Safa, Rauzat-ut-Tahirin (MS) and Tazkirat-ul-Mulk (MS). Another history that was written by Mir Masum totally ignores the reign of Sultan Raziyyah, but in doing so the author does not mention any thing about Sultan Rukn-ud-din also, and comes to the reign of Sultan Masood, for he is writing a local history.

It is interesting to note that during the Mughal Period some non-Muslims also took a lively interest in writing history in Persian. One of them was Rae Brindraban, who wrote Lub-ut-Tawarikh in 1694 A.D. He honestly imitates Ferishta, but in recording Raziyyah's reign he omits Ferishta's

last line in verse. Still he regards her as a sovereign possessing all the good qualities that are indispensable for a good and able ruler.

Next year, another non-Muslim Sujan Ray produced his *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* (1695-96 A.D.). He gives a very curious version of Yaqut's story. In his narratives it was Malik Ikhtiyar-ud-din Aetkin, whom he calls "Miskeen" (مکین) and not Yaqut, who assisted the Empress in mounting her horse or elephant. He thus writes :

49..... ملک اختیارالدین مکین امیر حاضر شد و بنور دانش و رسوخ اعتماد انجمن اقرب
همه سائید که هنگام سواری دست در فضل سلطان رفیع انداخته سوار می نمود.

For his statement Sujan Ray does not mention the source and certainly he seems to be a little confused in handling the events in his eagerness, perhaps, to rescue the Empress from unjust criticisms of the past.

Of-course, with a few exceptions, the latter Persian writers seem to be interested more in including the Empress's name among the Sultans of Delhi than accusing her for the favour shown to her Habshi slave. As for example, Hadiqat-us-Safa criticises the conduct of Raziyyah in these words :

50..... در آخر سلطنت خود پیش نواح حبش را مقرب نمود و نفاق بر امراء و قیام داره بنابرین
امراء متغیر شد و سلطان مغیر الدین بهرام شهنشاه القمش را بسلطنت برداشتند.

But on the other hand, the author of *Rauzat-us-Safa* applauds

the virtues and achievements of Raziyyah. He does not recognize Yaqut as Amir-ul-Umara, but as an Amir-i-Lashkar.⁵¹ This certainly indicates a new trend in writing the history of Raziyyah. He also thinks that Yaqut was "martyred". He not only dismisses Yaqut's story, but also pays high tributes to the Empress, which once more recall Minhaj's glowing tributes for Raziyyah.

After a careful Analysis of evidences it appears that Raziyyah-Yaqut romance is a freak of fancy, a mischievous plot engineered by the enemies of Raziyyah and that this romance has been kept alive and handed down to posterity by those writers who relied mainly on gossips and wished to adorn their narrative with a tint of romance for the amusement of their readers. Moreover, in the light of contemporary evidences she is absolutely innocent- a virtuous lady without any iota of doubts. Verily, after impartial investigations Sultan Raziyyah conspicuously shines forth as a marvellous sovereign and a great Shaheed, who gave her life in the service of her subjects and Saltanat.

Coming to the British Period it may be noticed that for a very long time the British writers based their histories of Muslim India on some Persian sources. In the

19th century a number of such historical works appeared which served as text-books in educational institutes. In 1803 A.D., Alexander Dow produced History of Hindostan, which he based on Ferishta's Tarikh. Dow regarded Tarikh-i-Ferishta as an authentic history of India. He follows it minutely in describing the reign of Sultan Raziyyah, but he reserves his own judgement, as he concludes with this remark :

"Thus died the Empress deserving a better fate, after a reign of three years, six months and six days". 52

Elphinstone is more clearer than Dow in expressing his views about the Empress. He first points out that "she appeared daily on her throne in the usual habit of a Sultan, gave audience to all comers, reformed the abuses which had crept in under the last government, revised the laws, decided suits of importance and evinced qualities of a just and able sovereign". 53

He then observes, "But her talents and virtues were insufficient to protect her from the effect of a single weakness. It was shown in the extraordinary mark of favour, which she showered upon her Master of Horse, who to make her

partiality more degrading was an Abyssinian slave".54

Thereafter, he emphatically says, "It does not appear that her fondness was criminal, since the greatest breach of decorum alleged against her is her allowing the Abyssinian to lift her on her horse". 55.

Though Elphinstone recognises her virtues, yet he ascribes her downfall to her rash policy of appeasement of the non-Turks. In his opinion she made here a fatal mistake. He thus writes :

"It was, however, imprudent in the highest degree, for by raising her favourite to the office of Amir-ul-Umara, which gave him rank ~~above~~ over all other courtiers, she at once disgusted her nobility and furnished them with a plausible ground for exciting a clamour against her". 56

In ~~expressing~~ these views Elphinstone, of-course, could not verify the statement of the Persian writers, who informed that Yaqut was promoted to the rank of Amir-ul-Umara. He readily believed in their words and honestly followed them.

Similar views about the Empress have been expressed by Henry Beveridge in his History of India published in 1862 A.D. He observes :

"It does not seem that her honour was compromised for the utmost said against her in this respect is that she allowed him to lift her up when she mounted on her horse-back". 57

Unlike these English historians, Sir Edward Sullivan is, however, very severe in his attack upon the fair Sultan of Hindustan. His book - The Conquerors, Warrior and Statesmen of India - appeared in 1866 A.D. Describing the reign of Sultan Raziyyah, he passed the following judgement after quoting a poet :

"Woe to the land where a minor ruler or a woman bears sway," says the Hindu bard Chundi and certainly in the instance, the feminine attributes of the heart of the Sultana quite outbalanced the masculine qualities of her head; the injudicious elevation of an Abyssinian slave to the command of her armies roused the indignation of the nobles of her court; she and her paramour were deposed and subjected to cruel death". 58

In his History of India, Talbot Wheeler also appears as one of the unjust critics of Raziyyah's character. According to him, she committed a sin and consequently suffered.

Likewise, W.P. Andrew in his India And Her Neighbours holds Raziyyah responsible for her misfortunes, though he conveys his opinion in a milder tone.

For such a harsh criticism of Raziyyah's conduct by Wheeler and his followers, the clue might conveniently be found in Edward Thomas's The Chronicles Of The Pathan Kings Of Delhi that appeared in 1871 A.D. Under the headline, "The Celebrated queen Regnant of Mohammadan India", he writes :

"Razia, the daughter of Altamsh, succeeded to the possession of the Capital on the fall of Shah Turkan - the mother of Rukn-ud-din in the third month of A.H. 634. The ministers at her father's court had been scandalized at the preference he had proposed to extend to a daughter, in suppression of the claims of adult male heirs to the throne; but the Sultan justified his appointment, the exclusion of which was, however, evaded alike on account of the demerits of his sons and the gifts and acquirements of his daughter who had been brought up under a degree of freedom from the seclusion enjoined for females, by the more severe custom of ordinary Muslim house-hold, aided by the advantages incident to the exalted position by her mother as chief and independently domiciled wife" 59

Thomas wants to create the impression that the Empress enjoyed freedom of action even before she came to the throne. But it is not ^{clear} on what ground he suggested that she was brought up "under a degree of freedom from seclusion". Minhaj, the contemporary writer, does not give such an information. That she observed Purdah even when she performed her royal duties has been informed by almost all the medieval writers. Amir Khusrau's short comment point to the fact that can not be overlooked :

60 برید از صدمه شاهی نقابش - ز پرده روی نمود نقابش

When Edward Thomas found Princess Raziyyah as a free girl, it is no wonder that he could then write about her unscrupulously in the following words :

"It was not that a virgin queen was forbidden to love ; she might have indulged herself in a submissive

Prince Consort or revelled almost unchecked in the dark recesses of the Palace Harem, but wayward fancy pointed in a wrong direction and led her to prefer a person employed about her court, an Abyssinian moreover, the favour extended to whom the Turk nobles resented with one accord". 61

Such an unjust and vile criticism of the Empress's character certainly does not ~~add~~ add to the credit of Edward Thomas.

Luckily the tragic queen has found in modern times a galaxy of eminent writers who have courageously opposed the views of Edward Thomas and rescued her from oblivion to which she had been subjected for an imaginary offence. One such writer is Raverty - the celebrated translator of Minhaj's Tabaqat-i-Nasiri. Rejecting the views of Edward Thomas he writes :

"Here is a proof of what a deal may be made of a little. Our author (Minhaj) is the sole authority for those statement in the Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Ferishta and Badaun; each of whom in rotation enlarge upon and exaggerate our author's words.....". 62

And these words were قری انتار which if rendered

into English, give the meaning of "acquired favour" or as Elliot and Dowson translated the sentence-"Jalal-ud-din Yagut, the Superintendent of the Stable was made a personal attendant". In Minhaj's words there is, of-course, nothing to actuate one to wishful thinking. Therefore, Raverty has rightly observed :

"I think the character of the princess has been assailed without a just cause.....Now it is very possible that it was of the duty of the Lord of the Stable or his privilege, to assist his sovereign to mount when he or she rode forth and that such an act might not have been occasioned through any undue familiarity; only what was applicable to a male sovereign, according to Musalman ideas, was not so to a female. However, the Lord of the Stable being an Abyssinian, this was with her assumption of male attire, pleas sufficient to the rebellious Turk Maliks - the remainder of the Chahalgan Mamlukes - to rebel against sovereign too energetic for them in their ambitious designs". 63

J.D.Rees in his history "The Mohammadans", which he completed in 1894 A.D., frankly announces that "No greater familiarity was proved to exist between them". 64

Stanly Lane-Poole also makes similar statements in his Medieval India Under Mohammadan Rule (1903 A.D.). He thus writes :

"She did her best to prove herself a man... but nothing could convince the Turkish Chiefs that a woman could or should lead them..... Razia's preferance for the Abyssinian Yagut, though perfectly innocent so far as many evidences go, roused the jealousy of the dominant Turks". 65

H.G.Keen, who wrote History of India in 1906 A.D., makes no reference to Yaqut's episode and does not believe even that she gave any cause for speculation about her private life. On the contrary, he thinks that she was of quick intelligence and true courage and maintained herself for sometimes in the trying position to which she had attained. "If she failed", he assures, "the times were too stormy for any ~~woman~~ man, but a very strong one". 66

Smith also makes no comment on Raziyyah-Yaqut relation in the Oxford History Of India (1919 A.D.). He refers to the Empress thus :

"She did her best to play the part of a man. She took active part in the wars with refractory Hindus and rebel Musalmans chiefs riding on elephant in the sight of all men. But her sex was against her. She tried to compromise by marrying a chief, who had opposed her in rebellion. Even that experience did not save her".67

George Dunbar in his History Of India accepts the statements of Minhaj in praise of Sultan Raziyyah as perfectly true and further adds :

".....yet it was the century in which slave wife of Saladin's grand nephew ruled in Egypt and defeated the crusade of St. Luis of France and a Princess - the last of the house of Salghar - reigned for nearly twenty five years in France."68

Again, Wolseley Haig in his Cambridge History of India, Vol.3, frankly points out that he does not like to side with those who try to tarnish the fair name of Sultan Raziyyah. He writes :

"Later historians suggest or insinuate that there was impropriety in her relation with him (Yaqut), but the contemporary chronicler makes no such an allegation and it is unnecessary to believe that she stooped to such a connection, for the mere advancement of an African was sufficient to excite the jealousy of the Turkish nobles, who formed a close corporation". 69

It is thus quite clear that modern writers's attitude towards Raziyyah has considerably changed. The English translation of Tarikh-i-Ferishta attempted by Briggs and Dow had facilitated the work of early English historians in compiling the history of Muslim India, but they could do no more than mere translation of Ferishta 's Tarikh and in the case of history of Raziyyah's reign, these translation works are defective. Therefore, the writers who depended entirely on them could not do full justice to the Empress. Briggs offers the translation of Ferishta's account of Raziyyah upto the lines that serve as a post-script and leave the readers in a pensive mood, but he omits the verse that Ferishta immediately inserts as a reply to the question put into the post-script. Without the verse it is impossible to realise the views of

Ferishta : about the Fair Sultan of Hindustan and the first singular diversion in the attitude of a writer towards her after centuries. Here Ferishta throws a challenge to those who accuse the Empress, for he does not leave his readers in any doubt about the culprit, who worked for her downfall as well as plotted to destroy her image of a virtuous lady, and her records as an able administrator. In the 14th century Amir Khusrau did not hesitate in extolling her virtues and valour and after him it was Ferishta who describing the facts connected with her life impartially sought to silence her enemies. Next comes Raverty, who seems to be her ardent defender. By offering a translation of *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* he has done a unique service to the Empress, for he has thus placed before his readers the views of the contemporary writer, Minhaj-us-Siraj, who saw Raziyyah in the cradle, on the throne, and in the grave. His translation in simple English is immensely useful as it facilitated the work of modern historians by bringing forth the facts connected with the Malika's life and enabling them to examine the views of the medieval writers. Briggs's translation is a huge work that provided incentive for the translation of other Persian historical works. Raverty's attempt to translate *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* proved a great success and his work with his critical comment wherever necessary is invaluable.

After independence (1947 A.D.), a fresh attempt is being made to reproduce the history of ancient and medieval India . The present writers have abundant materials and greater facilities for writing histories. The Asiatic Society of Bengal(India) has a very valuable collection of Arabic, Persian, and Urdu manuscripts and has published, edited, and printed texts of almost all the principal medieval Indo-Persian histories. Then there have appeared Sir Henry Elliot's and Prof. John Dowson's History Of India As Told By Its Historians in eight volumes. These are translation into English of Indian histories written in Arabic and Persian during the medieval period. These works have influenced a number of students in the first four decade of the present century - Englishmen, Hindus, and Muslims and still their value as compendium of historical materials is constant. By virtue of these works and individual efforts to divulge the truth, many significant conclusions have been made and numerous puzzles of history have been solved.

In the light of available evidences and honest research and keeping in view the time and situation prevailing in the 13th century, Sultan Raziyyah Begum undoubtedly appears to be a victim, who during her own life-time, was unjustly subjected to oppression and ignomy, but who deserves

a better fate. तं सद्म लोगन्मि सारभूयं ! (Truth alone matters). And of-course, Sultan Raziyyah besides being a paragon of beauty was the supreme embodiment of courage, determination and right judgement. She attempted to do what she considered to be good for her subjects and Saltanat she attempted to do what she she considered to be good for her subjects and Saltanat and she attempted to do in the teeth of opposition and without any fear of violent declamation of her enemies. If she could not crush them and instead suffered martyrdom, it was not due to her lack of courage or ability or due to her frailty, but because she was born before her time. That she came to the throne at a time when lawlessness and disorder was rampant is an acknowledged fact; and that she could evolve order out of chaos and lead her country from chaos to cosmos within a short time is a sufficient proof of her great abilities. In an age when arbitrary government was working in different countries of Europe, and even in England Henry 111 (1216-72 A.D.) was attempting to imitate the continental methods of arbitrary government,⁷⁰ Raziyyah seems to be a solitary example of an enlightened monarch. For a time she acted as an absolute ruler, but she could never be a despot. Her absolutism was to facilitate the

working of socialism and democracy in a land full of contrasts. No doubt, in the eyes of impartial observers she will virtually appear as an inspirer of national unity, political stability and economic prosperity and social justice, an exponent of peace, freedom, equality and fraternity. All these principles in modern world are highly honoured as great. The spirit which Sultan Raziyyah Begum left is still operative and is constantly struggling to ensure the benefits of these progressive principles to the people of Hindustan. In the midst of opposition Mrs. Indra Gandhi's services to the nation once more refresh the memory of those days in the 13th century, when Sultan Raziyyah Begum was engaged in establishing a popular government - a harbinger of paradise on earth. A virtuous lady, the Empress has at last been redeemed, though the Nemesis took a long time to come in response to the lamentations of this tragic figure of Indian History.

71 من دخت شاه جهان پرورم * سه سال و شش ماه تاج به بر سر
به وحشت ز من بندگان پرور * ر بودند تاج کیانی ز سر

NOTES.

1. TN.P.185;
2. Ibid;
3. DR.P.49;
4. TN.P.261;
5. TN.P.185;
6. Hitti, History of The Arabs, P.195;
7. Ibid;
8. FS.P.129, l.2547;
9. Kenneth Bell, Medieval Europe (1095-1254 A.D.), P.221.
10. Ibid;
11. Tarikh-i-Wassaf/ E.D.111, P.37;
12. DR.P.49;
13. FS.P.129, ll.2540-41;
14. Ibid, ll.2548-56;
15. Ibid, P.130, l.2562;
16. FS.P.129, l.2541;
17. Ibid, P.128, l.2533;
18. Ibid, P.129, ll.2542-43;
19. FS.P.130, l.2569;
20. FS.P.128, l.2532;

21. FS.P.130; 1.2579;
22. Ibid, P.132, 11.2517-19;
23. E.D.11(ed.Aligarh), P.838. "Inspite of its poetical flourishes, (it) is worthy of attention" FMRI, P.15.
24. Rehala, P.34;
25. Ibid, P. 35. Ibn Battutah writes ; "A dome was built over her grave, which is now visited and people obtain blessings from it".
26. TM.P.26;
27. Ibid;
28. TM.P.27;
29. Raverty asserts that these lines are not found in earlier manuscripts of Tabaqat-i-Nasiri. TM.(Eng.Tr.), P.750.
30. TM. P.27. Yahyah seems to be the first historian in India, who has interspersed verse in his prose to impress upon his readers the historical truth he knows. These two lines have no basis in previous histories.
31. TA.P.67;
32. Ibid, P.68;
33. MT.P.84;
34. Ibid;
35. Ibid;
36. Ibid;
37. Ibid;
38. TF.P.68;
39. Ibid;
40. TN.P.261;

41. TN.P.139;
42. TN.P.185;
43. TN.P.248;
44. TF.P.85;
45. TF.P.69;
46. TF.P.69; TF(MS. in A.S.B., NO.135.), f.61a
47. TN.P.189;
48. TF.P.68;
49. Kh.T.P.192;
50. f.13a;
51. Rauzat-us-Safa, Vol.4, P.218;
52. Page.194;
53. The History Of India, P.376;
54. Ibid;
55. The History Of India, P.376;
56. Ibid;
57. Page 65, Vol.1.
58. CWS.P.110;
59. Chronicles, P.104;
60. DR.P.49;
61. Chronicles, P.104;
62. TN.(Eng.Tr.), Vol.1,pt.2, P.642;
63. Ibid;

- 64. Page 63;
- 65. Page 66;
- 66. History of India, Vol.1, P.45;
- 67. Oxford History of India, P.226;
- 68. History of India, P.102;
- 69. CHI, Vol.111, P.56;
- 70. Goldwin Smith, History of England, P.50;
- 71. FS,P.132.

APPENDIX. (A).

CONTROVERSY OVER THE NAME OF SULTAN SHAMS-UD-DIN ILTUTMISH

Sultan Shams-ud-din, the third ruler of the Saltanat of Hindustan, is one of the few rulers of the world, whose name has created an interest for the students of History. Badauni for the first time in his Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh gave the meaning of the Sultan's name. He writes :

وجہ تسمیہ التمش آن است کہ تولد وی در شب گرفت ماه واقع شدہ بود و ترکان ای چنین مولود را التمش
ی گویند -

But the contemporary writers - Hasan Nizami, Fakhr-ud-din Mubarak Shah and Minhaj-Siraj - do not ascribe any reason for the Sultan's name, though in the histories they have given the meaning of Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak's name, who was previously known as Malik Qutb-ud-din Aibak, the favourite slave of Sultan Shihab-ud-din alias Mohammad Ghori.

Of the Persian writers, however, the authors of Mirat-ul-Alam and Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh, following Badauni, have explained the word and Sujan Ray Batalwi has added his own observation also. He writes :

1. التمش آنرا گویند کہ در شب خسوف مولد میشود و در کتابہ
و کہ بات این بادشاہ نامش التمش نوشتہ است کہ در ترکی محافظت را گویند -

With the few exceptions, no medieval Persian writer attempted to introduce any meaning to the name of the Sultan or discussed its correct form. Yahyah, Amir Khusrau, Isami, Abul Fazal Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, Ferishta - all these celebrated writers and

1. Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh, page 190;

chief authorities for the history of the Sultan, have avoided to express any opinion over this problem. They have generally used the word الست and some of them like Yahyah, Abdullah Mohammad, Mohammad Khavand have الست¹.

On the coins of this Sultan, of-course, his name is variously inscribed : الست - الستين - الستين

Likewise, there is no uniformity in the form of his name in his inscriptions. Nevertheless, no medieval Persian writer indulged into any controversy over the name. At last their reticence provoked such comment from E. Thomas :

"Neither oriental authors, nor Indian moneyers seem to have had any very definite idea of the correct orthography of the name of this king. Wassaf gives it as Alitmish, Rashid-ud-din, Mir Khavand, author of Khulasat-ut-Akhbar, all differ slightly in their mode of spelling of the word and the masters of the Delhi-Mint will be seen to have been as little critical. The indcision of these last is somewhat to be excused, seeing that the origin of the title in question, in its Turkey form is still indeterminate. Gen. Briggs supposed that the name was derived from الست (in Modern Turkey) "sixty", which number----- he had once realised in the slave market. But Badauni gives a very different version of the derivation of the name -----

I have submitted this passage (lines from Badauni's Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh) with the entire range of variants to Mr. Redhouse (a Turkish scholar) in the hope that he might solve the difficulty of the origin of the name. His reply was not conclusive, though its grammatical criticism may chance to promote an eventual solution of the enigma".

Thomas then himself hazards conjecture with regard

1. Vide, Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi, page 16, Zafar-ul-Walihi-Bi-Muz-zaffar-wa-Alihi, vol.2, page 607; Rauzat-us-Safa, vol.4, page 218.

to the meaning and form of the Sultan's name. He writes :

"Taking Badauni's paragraph or text, I may point out that though ای means moon and تیش may stand for تیش, it was eclipsed, etc., being always employed to express the phenomenon of the eclipse, ای تیش 'the moon is or was eclipsed' ای تیش, an eclipse of the moon, still the ل of our word is out of the requirement. Badauni's remark may be one of the eastern guesses one so often meets with and really beside the mark; but taking it as it stands and weighing also the Sanskrit transcription लितुमिश, I would suggest that the ل has become misplaced by the transcribers and that the name really was one of the two possessive compounds shown above, the و being dropped in writing as it is found in Indian-Turki Lexicon. This would make ایتیش or ایتیش. This latter being nearer to the Sanskrit transcription and to the Persian گرفتای, viz 'ay-tutulmasi' eclipse of the moon. To be correct, this should be written in two words- ای تیش and more correctly still with و, as ایتیش".

1

Stanley Lane Poole, on the other hand suggests that the correct form of the name is التیش (Iltutmish), which signifies hand-grasper. He writes :

"Altamish or Altamsh is the Persian spelling, but the original Turki name, as written on coins and inscriptions and transliterated into Nagri, was probably Iltutmish".

Another Turkish scholar Dr. Barthold re-examined the question in 1907 A.D., and suggested that the word was really ILTUTMISH meaning "Maintainer of the Kingdom". He pointed out that the reading 'Tut' is supported by a very fine manuscript of Taj-ul-Maasir of Hasan Nizami, dated A.H.829 in the Universi-

1. Chronicles, page.43

2. Medieval India Under Mohammadan Rule, page 70.

ty Library of St. Peters-burg in which the 'U' vowel mark
is shown.¹

As a matter of fact Altamsh is not a rare name among
the Turks. Even history knows some persons of this name. A
Haji Altamsh was sent as an ambassador of Abdullah Khan Uz-
bek to Akbar in 979-980 A.H.² Malik Feroze Shah Altamsh, Shah-
zada of Kwarizm was one of the Grandees of Sultan Shams-ud-
din Iltutmish.³ Likewise, Iltutmish was not uncommon among the
Turks. An Amir named Iltutmish al-Turki was governor of Al-
Rayy.⁴

Minhaj has used in his Tabaqat-i-Nasiri the word التش.
But Fakhr-e-Mudabbir in his Adab-ul-Harb uses التش.⁵ In Sul-
tan Shams-ud-din's inscriptions, too, these two forms are vi-
sible. It is only on his coins that the four forms can easily
be seen. Of these, as M. Wright observes, التش (Iltutmish)
is by far the commoner.⁶

Ibn Batutta is the only writer who uses 'Lalmish'
and he ascribes no reason for it. Isami is another writer,

1. SDCM, P.70.
2. AN. II. 368.
3. TN. P.177.1.7.
4. SDCM, P.70.
5. Adab-ul-Harb. P.16.
6. SDCM, P.70.

who used the word ¹التش. It is found also in Tarikh-i-Jahan Kushan. Giving its English translation, J.A.Boyle points out that for the last fifty years or so the name of the Sultan has been written ³ILTUTMISH. Still the curiosity remains to find out the correct meaning and form (spelling) of the name of the Sultan. In 1950 a Turkish scholar again attempted to solve the puzzle and suggested that the name was Iletmish. And his suggestion has been accepted by some writers and editors of the Encyclopaedia of Islam.⁴

Upto now almost a dozen scholars have attempted to solve the problem, but it is becoming more complicated than before. It is not necessary that a proper name should have a meaning or a fixed spelling and pronunciation. Therefore, after so many centuries it seems really very strange to gain something out of the Sultan's name by discussing its etymology and orthography. It is possible that the various form of the word came into light according to the sweet will of the Sultan. With the available materials we can safely decide what is the commonest form and this is undoubtedly ILTUTMISH⁵.

Again, it will be noticed that Sultan Shams-ud-din⁶ was known to his non-Muslim subjects i.e Hindus as ILTUTMIS.

1. FS.P.103;

2. Vol.1.P.328;

3. Ibid;

4. A Comprehensive History of India, vol.5, P.208;

5. Vide, coins and inscriptions of the Sultan.

6. Vide, Wright's SDCM, P.26, Coin Nos. 78-80, 121-122.

1

The Nagri inscription on coin¹ (Coin No.121- श्री सुलतान ईलतुतमिश)
more than any thing else convinces one that the Sultan was
generally known to his subjects as "Iltutmish".

Moreover, a glance at Sultan Raziyyah's coins
confirms that the popular form of the Sultan's name was
"Iltutmish"². This Malika has used the other form of the
word also i.e. " إِلْتُمِش " on her coins, but generally
" الْتُمِش " (ILTUTMISH) is engraved on them.

1. Vide, SDCM. P.26.
2. " Ibid, P.41; Coin Nos. 161B, 161C, 161D;
JASB, Part.1.P.63.

APPENDIX.B.

THE KHOKARS

Next to the foreign aggressions the Sultans of Delhi had to deal with the turbulent tribes of the northern India. One such was the Khokars' tribe. They remained active throughout the Saltanat Period and tried to create troubles whenever they got an opportunity. In the year 1009 A.D., when Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni invaded Hindustan, they collected under the leadership of Raja Anand Pal¹. They formed a strong force of 30,000 bare-footed, bare-headed, and armed with strange weapons. They killed so many soldiers of the Sultan that he at last decided to return, but luckily an accident saved his position. Raja Anand Pal's elephant took fright and carried away the rider from the battle-field. His absence created panic among his army and the allies and they, too, fled away. After the victory the Muslims pursued the enemies and killing 8000 Khokars obtained a vast booty².

Persecution of the Khokars widened a gulf between the Muslims and these infidels, who never reconciled to the invaders. In 1186 A.D., the Khokars co-operated with Khusrav Malik, the ruler of Ghazni, who had taken shelter in Lahore after Ghazni was occupied by Sultan Muiz-ud-din bin Sam, the nephew of Jahansoz.

1. IA.vol.xxxvi,p.4.

2. CHI.vol.111,p.16.

In 1181 A.D., Muiz-ud-din had occupied Sialkot. As soon as he left for Ghazni, Khusrau Malik attempted to regain it, but he failed to do so and returned to Lahore. Muiz-ud-din again appeared before Lahore in 1186 A.D. Khusrau Malik sued for peace, but shortly afterwards he was captured and sent to Feroze-Koh, where he was put behind the iron bars. By rendering assistance to Khusrau Malik, the Khokars incurred the wrath of Muiz-ud-din and were marked as his enemies¹.

In 1206 A.D., the Khokars and other tribes of Koh-i-Jud (Salt Range) under the leadership of Rai Sal rose against Sultan Muiz-ud-din as soon as they received the news of the Sultan's defeat at the hands of the Shah of Khwarizm at Andkhui. As the local officers could not gain control over them, the Sultan himself proceeded to chastise them and asked his Indian Viceroy, Malik Qutb-ud-din Aibak to join him on the Jhelum. A severe battle took place for 24 hours in which Malik Iltutmish, slave and adopted son of Qutb-ud-din Aibak, distinguished himself. The Khokars fought with desperate courage, but received a crushing defeat and were completely overpowered². As a result of this sanguinary battle more than 200,000 Khokars were put to the sword and immense booty fell into the hands of the victor³. A group

1. T.A.P. 117; CHI.P.37;

2. Taj (MS), f.285.

3. TFM.P.28.

of rebels, who took shelter in a hill-fort were pursued, but they fled into a dense forest. Finding no sign of the rebels the victorious army put the forest on fire and consequently these rebels miserably perished there. Shortly afterwards the forest of Jud was captured¹. Of the two leaders of the Khokars, Bakan managed to escape, but the other Sarka was slain. The royal army pursued Bakan and captured him. This rebel leader obtained his freedom by accepting Islam. His example was followed by his followers and at the same time several other tribes of the Salt Range were converted to Islam².

The Khokars were no less than savages like the Kuffar-i-Trahiyah (infidels of the Trahiyah-Hill) living between Punjab and Ghazni. The Khokars lived in the vicinity of Peshawar³. They were idol worshippers in rare cases and generally knew no religion. The practice of Polandry and female infanticide was common among them⁴.

Despite constant persecution the Khokars' tribe could not be completely wiped out of existence. Within a short time they again became a fighting force, though not so formidable as before. In 620 A.H./1223 A.D., the Shah of Khwarizm driven by Chingiz Khan sought refuge in the Punjab. He occu-

1. Taj (MS), f. 285;

2. TF, P. 59-60;

3. Tarikh-i-Ibn Khaldun, vol. 12-14, p. 35;

4. IA. 1207.

pied Balala and Nikala near Lahore and attempted to increase his power before advancing towards Delhi by conquering the small independent states of northern India. He sent a force to occupy the territories of the Khokars. Their Chief was defeated and the vanquished established friendly relations with the Shah by entering into a matrimonial alliance with him. The Shah married the daughter of the Chief of the Khokars and conferred great honours upon his son; and the Chief joined him with a considerable body of his tribe.¹

The Khokars and Nasir-ud-din Qubacha of Sind were not on friendly terms for a long time. Guided by the son of the Khokars' Chief, the Shah's army made a surprise attack upon Qubacha's camp near Uchcha and defeated him. The Shah compelled him to comply with an exorbitant demand for tribute. Encouraged by this success he aspired to acquire more territories and treasures, but the news of Chingiz Khan's arrival near his newly conquered territories seriously perturbed him and he finding no alternative decided to return, but before leaving India, he plundered Sind and Gujrat and then escaped to Persia. During his brief stay in India the Khokars remained his friends and served him till his departure in 1224 A.D.²

The next mention of the Khokars is found when they created troubles during the reign of Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltut-

1. IA. vol. xxxvi, 1907, page 4.
2. CHI. 111. P. 53.

mish. In 1235 A.D., the Sultan himself proceeded to suppress them, but before he could reach Beniyān near the Hill of Jud, he fell ill and his illness compelled him to return to Delhi, where he died on April 30, 1236 A.D.^T

The first Sultan of Delhi, who received co-operation from the Khokars was Sultan Raziyyah. This Malika succeeded in making them good friends instead of eternal foes of the Muslims. In her distress when she lost her throne, the Khokars and other tribes of the northern India rallied round her at her request and they together marched towards Delhi. They courageously fought with the forces of Sultan Bahram Shah, but suffered defeat. It is reported that these tribes betrayed her and consequently she suffered defeat at the hands of Sultan Bahram Shah. They are also held responsible for her sad demise. But such a view can not be accepted, for the contemporary and other medieval Persian writers have given conflicting views about her defeat and death. It is easy to charge the Khokars and their allies for the last misfortunes of her life owing to their traditional hostility towards the rulers of Delhi. But the Khokars did no more than serve her as her hired soldiers. The Hindus respected their Malika as she was tolerant towards them and was liberal and free from prejudices of her time. "She was compelled to abandon her throne by an usurper and sought and found protection among the jits, who

1. TN.P.176;

with their Sythic brethren the Ghikars(Khokars) assembled all their forces and marched with their queen like Tomyris of old to meet her foes, but she fell in battle in her attempt to overturn the Salic Law of India". 1

1. Cyclopaedia of India, vol.4.P.63

APPENDIX. C.

QUEEN BILQIS; JEHAN (QUEEN OF SHEBA) .

Bilqis Jehan is the name among the Mohammadans for the queen of Sheba. She was a queen who ruled over a vast country- Egypt and Ethiopia¹. She conducted the state-affairs sitting on a big throne studded with costly jewels and she ruled with justice and wisdom. She behaved as an absolute monarch, but she consulted her ministers on all important matters³. As a matter of fact, the queens ministers always relied on her decisions and willingly obeyed her.

The early life of queen Bilqis is shrouded into mystery. Her story reached the Muslims through the Jewish sources and they found it very interesting as it was known that she possessed the supper-human origin. She has been given different names in the changed atmospheres of world-religion. Her history has been considerably modified under Jewish, Christian and Muslim influences. Alberuni opined that she was an offspring of a demon, while according to Zamakhshari she was a Princess belonging to the royal family of Shorahil⁴. Tabari informed that she was the daughter of a Chinese King Abu Sharh and a peri. But Zotenberg, the translator of Tarikh-i-Tabari, recognises her as a descendent of the Himarite deity Ilmukah⁵. Whatever be

1. The Encyclopaedia of Islam, vol.1.P.720;
2. Quran.19.27.23.
3. Vide, Quran, 19.27.32-34;
4. The Encyclopaedia of Islam, vol.1.P.720;
5. Ibid;

her origin, it is certain that Bilqis is not the product of a poet's imagination, but a real character of history. For she has been mentioned in quran, the Holy book of the Musalmans.

The name Bilqis Jehan is not found in quran. The "ruler of Saba" receives this name in the works of Persian writers. According to the story in the quran, she was a heathen queen, who worshiped the sun. One day she received a letter, borne by a hoopoe from King Solomon demanding that she should worship the true God. The queen reported the matter to her ministers and after consultation sent presents of all kinds to please the King and thereby avert the danger of any attack on her kingdom. But these presents were not well received and King Solomon remained adamant till his demand was fulfilled. When she herself came to Solomon, the latter had her throne taken away by an 'Ifrit' to see if she would recognize it again, the intelligent queen made no mistake and appreciated the King's superb powers. Afterwards, Solomon led her to a room paved with glass. She took the glittering floor for water and raised her garment. However, as soon as she realised her mistake, she could not but appreciate the King's knowledge and wisdom as well as his religion. Finally she became converted.¹

1. Quran, 19.27.28-45.

King Solomon was also much impressed by the queen's sagacity and prudence. He married her and after sometimes allowed her to return to her kingdom.

Queen Bilqis Jehan's political wisdom may be gleaned from the following saying, which is even to-day as true as it was in her own times.

٢ اِنَّ الْمُلُوكَ اِذَا دَخَلُوْا قَرْيَةً اَفْسَسُوْهَا وَحَنَّتُوْا اَیْمَرَهَا اُذِلُّوْهَا

And, of-course, all the available sources point to the fact that she was an able ruler and blessed her people with peace and prosperity.

1. Adab-ul-Harb-was-Shujaat, P.171;

2. Vide, Quran. 19.27.34..

Translation:

She said, "Surely the Kings, when they enter a town(after victory) ruin it and make the noblest of its people to be low and thus they(always) do."

APPENDIX. (D).

"SULTANA REZIA."

The picture of Sultan Raziyyah Begum attached to my thesis¹ is a reprint of the original painting "Sultana Rezia" - drawn by the great artist Abdul Muin alias Zarreen Qalam of Calcutta. The photo was very kindly given to me from his personal collection by Abdul Karim, Assistant Librarian, National Library, Calcutta and younger brother of late Abdul Muin (1914-1939 A.D.).

The original painting was highly appreciated by the Consul General of Italy² and was acquired by the Government³ of India for preserving it in the National Art Gallery, New Delhi.

1. Vide, page vii.
2. Advance, 29th March, 1939 A.D.
3. "Sultana Rezia" was one of the paintings of late Abdul Muin that was purchased by the Government of India, New Delhi, on 21st March, 1953 A.D., for the National Art Gallery, New Delhi.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

A. PERSIAN.

1. MANUSCRIPTS. (Titles listed alphabetically).

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| MS.A.S.B.(Society Collection) | | |
| Akbar Nama | : Abul Fazal | NO.122 |
| Ain-i-Akbari | : Abul Fazal | NO.127 |
| Dewal Rani | : Amir Khusrau | NO.567 |
| Fawaid-ul-Fuad | : Amir Hasan Sijzi | NO.239 |
| Gulzar-i-Abri | : Md.Guthi | NO.259 |
| MS.A.S.B.(Curzon Collection) | | |
| Gwalior Nama | : Khir-ud-din | NO.43 |
| MS.A.S.B.(Society Collection) | | |
| Hadiqat-us-Safa | : Yusuf Ali | NO.45 |
| Haft Aqlin | : Amin Razi | NO.282 |
| Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh | : Sujan Ray Bhandari | NO.162 |
| Lub-ut-Tawarikh | : Rae Brindaban | NO.161 |
| Maasir-i-Rahimi | : Abdul Baqi Nahawandi | NO.140 |
| Mujmal-i-Fasihi | : Fasih-ud-din Ahmad | NO.9 |
| Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh | : Abdul Qadir Badauni | NO.119 |
| Munshiat-i-Mahru | : Abdullah Md. Sharaf | NO.338 |
| MS.National Library, Calcutta. | | |
| Mirat-i-Jahan Numa | : Md.Shafi. NO.13... | (Bihar Collection) |
| Mirat-ul-Alam | : Md. Bakhtawar Khan | NO.11 |
| MS.A.S.B.(Society Collection) | | |
| Rauzat-us-Safa | : Mir Khawand | NO.10 |
| Rauzat-ut-Tahirin | : Tahir Mohammad | NO.42 |
| Riyaz-us-Salatin | : Gholam Hussain Salim | NO.206 |
| MS.National Library, Calcutta,
(Sarkar's Collection) | | |
| Taj-ul-Maasir | : Hasan Nizami | NO.176 |
| MS.A.S.B.(Curzon Collection) | | |
| Tabaqat-i-Nasiri | : Minhaj b. Siraj | NO.1. |
| MS.A.S.B.(Society Collection) | | |
| Tabaqat-i-Akbari | : Nizam-ud-din Ahmad | NO.115 |
| Tarikh-i-Ferishta | : Ferishta b.Hindu Khan | NO.135 |
| Tazkirat-ul Muluk | : Anonymous | NO.180 |
| Tarikh-i-Tabari | : Mohammad b. Jarir Tabari. | NO.1. |

11. PRINTED EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS.
(Titles listed alphabetically).

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| Adab-i-Harb-was-Shujaat | : Fakhr-ud-din Mubarak Shah
known as Fakhr-e-Mudabbir,
ed. Ahmad Y. Kwansari, Tehran.
1967 A.D. |
| Akbar Nama | : Abul Fazal,
ed. Ahmad Ali and Abdal Rahman,
Asiatic Society, 1873. |
| Ain-i-Akbari | : Abul Fazal,
Published by Asiatic Society
of Bengal, Calcutta.
English Translation by Jarret
and Sarkar, 1949 A.D. |
| Akhbar-ul-Akhar | : Abdul Haque, Delhi, 1280 H. |
| Babar Nama or Tuzuk-i-
Babri. | : Emperor Babar,
ed. Annettes Beveridge, Leyden.
1905 A.D. |
| Chingiz Khan | : Mir Khavand,
Paris, 1841. |
| Dawal Rani | : Amir Khusrav, Aligarh,
1917 A.D. |
| Dastan-i-Turk-tazan-i-
Hind. } | : Nasurullah Khan
Hyderabad, 1892 A.D. |
| Pawaid-ul-Fuad | : Amir Hasan Gijzi
Newal Kishore, Lucknow 1858 A.D. |
| Ganj-i-Tarikh | : Cholein Sarwar Mufi
Lahore, 1877 A.D. |
| Haft Aqlim, vol.2. | : Amin Bazi
ed. E.D. Ross, Calcutta, 1939. |
| Ijaz-i-Khusravi | : Amir Khusrav
Lucknow, 1875 A.D. |
| Khai-ul-Majalis | : Nasir-ud-din Chiragh Behalvi
1959 A.D. |

Khulasai-Tarikh-i-Bangala

Md. Abdur Rauf
Calcutta, 1853 A.D.

Khazain-ul-Futuh

Amir Khusrau
ed. Md. Wahid Mirza
Asiatic Society, Calcutta
1953 A.D.

Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh

Sujan Ray Bhandari
Delhi, 1918 A.D.
Thomas William Bell,
Kanpur, 1284 H.

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ed. M. Hossain, (Asiatic Society)
1910-1931 A.D. (Cal.).

Nuh Sipihir

Amir Khusrau
Md. Wahid Mirza
Calcutta 1947 A.D.
Abridged Eng. Tr., by Elliot
and Dowson, History of India,
vol. 3. London. 1871.

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Amir Khusrau,
Aligarh, 1918 A.D.
Abridged Eng. Tr., by Elliot
and Dowson, History of India,
vol. 3. London. 1871.

Rauzat-us-Safa

Mir Khawand,
Lucknow, 1891 A.D.

Riyaz-us-Salatin

Gholam Hussain Salim
ed. Abdul Haque Abid,
Calcutta. 1890-98 A.D.

Sair-ul-Aqtab

Al-Hadiyah, b. Sk. Abdur Rahim
Lucknow, 1889 A.D.

Tabaqat-i-Nasiri

Minhaj b. Siraj
ed. Nassau Lees, Khadim
Hussain and Abdul Hai,
Calcutta, 1864 A.D.
Eng. Tr., H. G. Raverty,
Calcutta, 1897 A.D.

Tabaqat-i-Akbari

Nizam-ud-din Ahmad
ed. B.De and M.Hidayet Hossain
Asiatic Society, Cal.1923 A.D.

Tarikh-i-Fakhr-ud-din
Mubarak Shah.

Fakhr-ud-din Mubarak Shah
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ed. E.D.Ross, London, 1927 A.D.

Tarikh-i-Feroze Shahi

Zia-ud-din Barani
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Asiatic Society, Cal.1860,62.A.D.

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Shams-i-Siraj Afif
ed. Wilayet Hossain,
Asiatic Society, Cal.1888,1911.A.D

Tarikh-i-Ferishta

Qasim b.Hindu Khan,
Kanpur, 1884 A.D.

Tarikh-i-Guzidah

Hamdulla Mustaufi,
Leyden, 1913.

Tarikh-i-Jahan Kusha

Ala-ud-din A.M.Juvaini
(Gibb-Memorial Series, 1-111,Leyden
1912-37 A.D.).

Eng. Tr. J.A.Boyle, 2.vol.,
Manchester,1958.

Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi

Yahyah Sirhindi,
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